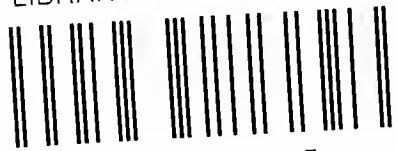


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THE
SOUTHERN LOYALISTS' CONVENTION.

CALL FOR A CONVENTION OF SOUTHERN UNIONISTS, TO
MEET AT INDEPENDENCE HALL, PHILADELPHIA, ON
MONDAY, THE THIRD DAY OF SEPTEMBER, 1866.

To the Loyal Unionists of the South :

The great issue is upon us ! The majority in Congress, and its supporters, firmly declare that "*the rights of the citizen enumerated in the Constitution, and established by the supreme law, must be maintained inviolate.*"

Rebels and rebel sympathizers assert that "*the rights of the citizen must be left to the States alone, and under such regulations as the respective States choose voluntarily to prescribe.*"

We have seen this doctrine of State sovereignty carried out in its practical results, until all authority in Congress was denied, the Union temporarily destroyed, the constitutional rights of the citizen of the South nearly annihilated, and the land desolated by civil war.

The time has come when the restructure of Southern State governments must be laid on constitutional principles, or the despotism, grown up under an atrocious leadership, be permitted to remain. We know of no other plan than that Congress, under its constitutional powers, shall now exercise its authority to establish the principle whereby protection is made co-extensive with citizenship.

We maintain that no State, either by its organic law or legislation, can make transgression on the rights of the citizen legitimate. We demand and ask you to concur in demanding protection to every citizen of the great Republic on the basis of equality before the law; and further, that no State government should be recognized as legitimate under the Constitution in so far as it does not by its organic law make impartial protection full and complete.

Under the doctrine of "State sovereignty," with rebels in the foreground, controlling Southern Legislatures, and embittered by disappointment in their schemes to destroy the Union, there will be no safety for the loyal element of the South. Our reliance for protection is now on Congress, and the great Union party that has

stood, and is standing, by the nationality, by the constitutional rights of the citizen, and by the beneficent principles of free government.

For the purpose of bringing the loyal Unionists of the South into conjunctive action with the true friends of republican government in the North, we invite you to send delegates in goodly numbers from all the Southern States, including Missouri, Kentucky, West Virginia, Maryland, and Delaware, to meet at Independence Hall, in the city of Philadelphia, on the first Monday of September next. It is proposed that we should meet at that time to recommend measures for the establishment of such government in the South as accords with and protects the rights of citizens. We trust this call will be responded to by numerous delegations of such as represent the true loyalty of the South. That kind of government which gives full protection to all the rights of citizens, such as our fathers intended, we claim as our birthright. Either the lovers of constitutional liberty must rule the nation, or rebels and their sympathizers be permitted to misrule it. Shall loyalty or disloyalty have the keeping of the destinies of the nation ? Let the responses to this call which is now in circulation for signatures, and is being numerously signed, answer. Notice is given that gentlemen at a distance can have their names attached to it by sending a request by letter, directed to D. H. Bingham, Esq., of Washington, D. C.

W. B. STOKES, Tennessee.

JOS. S. FOWLER, Tennessee.

JAMES GETTYS, Tennessee.

NAT. B. OWENS, Tennessee.

A. J. HAMILTON, Texas.

GEO. W. PASCHAL, Texas.

LORENZO SHERWOOD, Texas.

C. B. SABIN, Texas.

G. W. ASHBURN, Georgia.

HENRY G. COLE, Georgia.

3/18/12

J. W. McCLURG, Missouri.
 JOHN R. KELSO, Missouri.
 J. F. BENJAMIN, Missouri.
 GEO. W. ANDERSON, Missouri.
 JOHN B. TROTH, Fairfax Co., Va.
 J. M. STEWART, Alexandria, Va.
 WM. N. BERKLEY, Alexandria, Va.
 ALLEN C. HARMON, Alexandria, Va.
 LEWIS McKENZIE, Virginia.
 J. W. HUNNICUTT, Virginia.
 JOHN C. UNDERWOOD, Virginia.
 BURNHAM WARDWELL, Virginia.
 ALEX. M. DAVIS, Virginia.
 MICHAEL HAHN, Louisiana.
 A. P. DOSTIE, Louisiana.
 W. P. JUDD, Louisiana.
 J. HAWKINS, Louisiana.
 EUGENE STAES, Louisiana.
 BYRON LAFLIN, North Carolina.
 DANIEL R. GOODLOE, North Carolina.
 GEORGE REESE, Alabama.
 D. H. BINGHAM, Alabama.
 M. J. SAFFOLD, Alabama.
 J. H. LARCOMBE, Alabama.
 THOMAS W. CONWAY, Louisiana.
 JAMES GRAHAM, Louisiana.
 R. T. VAN HORN, Missouri.
 W. J. COWING, Virginia.
 JOHN MINOR BOTTS, Virginia.
 JOHN F. LEWIS, Virginia.
 FRANKLIN STEARNS, Virginia.
 W. R. HILLYER, Florida.
 PHILLIP FRAZAR, Florida.
 JOHN B. BROWN, Virginia.
 J. W. BABE, Arkansas.
 T. McKINLEY, Tennessee.
 THOS. C. FLETCHER, Missouri.
 CHARLES E. MOSS, Missouri.
 A. D. CARMON, Missouri.
 J. E. BRYANT, Georgia.
 R. KING CUTLER, Louisiana.
 HENRY C. DIBBLE, Louisiana.
 GUY DUPLANTIER, Louisiana.
 A. P. FIELD, Louisiana.
 RUFUS WAPLES, Louisiana.
 JUDGE E. HEISTAND, Louisiana.
 WESTON FLINT, Missouri.
 R. O. SIDNEY, Mississippi.

Washington, July 4, 1866.

CIRCULAR LETTER.

WASHINGTON, D. C., 10th of July, 1866.

Sir:—The undersigned have been appointed, by the signers of the accompanying call, a committee to address you in their behalf, and urge you to prompt and energetic efforts in the appointment of delegates from your State and section, to meet delegates from the other Southern States, in Philadelphia, on the first Monday in September next. By the strong ties of common sufferings in the past, and the dangers present and future which surround us, we appeal to you, henceforward, to come to the rescue in a moment of imminent danger to yourselves and our country.

We had all hoped that when treason was beaten in the field, and her armed traitors captive to the Government which they had wickedly sought to destroy, we of the South who, through four long years of untold sufferings and horrors, adhered to her fortunes and her banner amidst all the changes and vicissitudes of war, would at least receive protection to all the constitutional rights of American citizens. We relied confidently on the sense of justice and gratitude of the loyal citizens of the United States, through their Senators and Representatives in Congress, to guard, in the most effectual manner, our future peace and security against the malevolence, vindictiveness, hate, and disloyalty of the late rebels. This confidence, we believe, has not been misplaced. We relied, too, as we had a right to rely, on the earnest and efficient co-operation of the Executive of the Nation, placed in power by the great Union party of the country because of his supposed devotion to the Government, and his abhorrence of treason, and desire to see "*intelligent conscious traitors*" punished and made disreputable. We confidently expected his hearty co-operation with the political department of the Government in providing such governments in the States lately in rebellion as would protect the country from conspirators in official positions against its peace; and secure to loyal citizens life, liberty, and property, together with the inestimable privilege of impressing upon the minds of others his conscientious convictions of truth, by speech or through the medium of the press. We also had reason to hope that the freedman as well as the loyal white man in the South would find ample protection for all his rights as an *American citizen*, by actual military force if necessary, until equal laws and corrected public sentiment would place them on a firm and enduring basis. In these hopes, predicated on the oft-repeated declarations of the President, we have been grievously disappointed—cruelly deceived. We have neither seen treason made odious nor traitors disreputable by any act of the Executive of the Nation. We have seen traitors—*leading, intelligent, conscious traitors*—bearing away from the national capital with exultation, in the same pocket, indemnity for the past and indorsement and security for the future, in the form of special pardons and appointments to Federal office; while *leading intelligent Unionists* were made conscious that fidelity to the Government was not the passport to Executive favor, but, on the contrary, servile subserviency to the President and his "policy," as against the deliberate and matured judgment of the loyal people of the United States, and the constitutional power of the Senators and Representatives in Congress, was the only condition required of applicants for favor, whose claims thus sustained were, in no instance, impaired by treasonable antecedents.

We have seen our States that remained in rebellion to the close of the war, without an exception, remitted to the control of a rebel magistracy, elected by rebels to the exclusion of the

friends of the Union. With one voice we can testify to the encouragement given to traitors and treasonable sentiments in the South in the past twelve months, and the deep gloom and despondency which has settled upon the minds and hearts of the loyal people in those States.

When the effects of the President's policy was first felt to be pernicious and ruinous, we were justified—certainly excusable—in believing that it was but an error in judgment which would be corrected by him with promptitude as soon as discovered. We had well hoped that he would hold to a just accountability those who, we believed, had so grossly abused his clemency and apparent magnanimity. They have, doubtless, understood him far better than we. The entire course of the rebels seems to meet his unqualified assent and approbation. The election of an unpardoned rebel to the chief magistracy of a rebel State, who, in his first message to the legislature, denounced the war on the part of the United States against the rebellion as the most unholy and disgraceful in character ever practised by a Christian nation, had the effect of procuring his speedy pardon. The entire control by *late rebels* and *present conspirators* against the peace of the country of eleven States—men who cherish the most deadly hatred of all lovers of the Government, and are threatening them with violence, as in the beginning of the rebellion; who denounce the loyal people of the loyal States, and heap invectives on their loyal Senators and Representatives in Congress, who, they pray, may be forcibly ejected by the bayonet from the halls of the National Capitol, and the Government administered by the will of the President;—these, and such as these, together with their Northern sympathizers, are esteemed fit associates and counselors of the Chief Magistrate of the nation, and constitute the material out of which a new party—the Johnson party—is to be formed to guide the country through its present perils and mould its future destinies.

The leaders of this movement are well understood by the loyal country. The President and his friends, well knowing that he has forever forfeited the confidence of the great Union party which elected him, have madly determined to organize a new party of this “speckled progeny of many conjunctions.” The effect has been to consolidate and crystallize the Union party. It stands to-day more compact, powerful, and confident than at any period of its existence. Its triumph in the approaching fall elections is not only certain, but will be overwhelming. What is the duty of the Unconditional Union men of the South, and what is to be their position? Our duty is to act with the friends of the Government, who are our friends, and our *only friends*. We must take our position with the loyal people and Congress of the nation, against the machinations of the new coalition of rebels and their Northern sympathizers.

We can have no affiliation with those who deride and hate us because of our love of the Union now and in the past, and who, there is abundant

reason to believe, are at this moment again conspiring to overthrow the Government.

If those who are to constitute this new party should attain power and possess themselves of the control of the Government, what consideration may we expect at their hands, what mercy can we hope? They have proved faithless to every pledge and obligation, however sacred, both before and since the rebellion. The most solemn oaths are used by them as a mere cloak for treachery; and magnanimity and mercy, on the part of an outraged Government and its friends, are impudently and insultingly derided the moment they are relieved from dread of punishment. No history furnishes an example of such incorrigible guilt and shameless mendacity.

To the Union party, and to that alone, we look for relief from our present unhappy condition, and for permanent security in the future. The party is powerful enough for success without our aid, but it is none the less our duty to signalize our devotion to the principles of republican liberty, which that party is so nobly sustaining, by active affirmative co-operation on our part. Moreover, if we wish the support, the countenance and protecting care of the Union party to shield us from the dangers which now threaten us, we must not be afraid to make known to them our condition and dire necessities. It is scarcely too much to say that the Southern Unionists, though too weak for self-protection, hold in their hands the key to the solution of the question of the reorganization of civil State governments in the South. We know it has been said that we have been ignored by all parties in and out of Congress—that we are being ground to death between the upper and nether millstones. Let it be remembered that, *as a party* in the South, we have made no effort to make known our wants, our condition, our hopes, or sufferings.

We do assure you that it is the wish, the ardent desire and intention of Congress, to give us protection and security, when fully advised of our needs.

Let us then perform our duty to ourselves and our country, by meeting together for consultation upon our present condition and future interests, and present to the country the united voice of the down-trodden Unionists of the South; presenting a fearless and truthful statement of facts, which shall command the attention and challenge the confidence and sympathy of every friend of the Government and of human liberty throughout the land.

It may be that fear of the same despotism over the minds and consciences of men that existed in the beginning of the rebellion, and reigned supreme in the South during its continuance, will again assert its power, and condemn to extreme punishment those who may dare to respond to our call. We have but to say that whatever danger threatens, and whatever sacrifices are involved, we *must* aid in breaking the shackles that bind us.

If the enemies of free government do not yet understand that the rights of American citizenship are to be paramount and supreme over the hellish spirit born of slavery and nurtured by bigotry, ignorance, and prejudice, they will learn it in the throes and struggles of the next civil commotion which they and their abettors inaugurate.

One other step, and they will have placed themselves forever without the pale of forgiveness. The *fiat* has gone forth. The people of the United States have resolved that this *shall be a Government of freedom and equal rights for all*; and woe to those who shall hereafter resist this solemn judgment. He who is guilty of a second rebellion to this Government will appeal in vain for pardon. Let us act boldly as becomes free men; and if we should thereby incur danger, the country will understand and appreciate the shameless hypocrisy of those who prate of their loyalty and right to readmission into the Union in one breath, and, in the next, excite a brutalized mob to violence upon a citizen for exercising the constitutional right of meeting his fellow-citizens to petition the political power of the nation for a redress of grievances. Let us do our duty, and trust to God and our loyal countrymen for vindication and protection.

We urge you to lose no time in making your nominations, by public meetings or otherwise, as may be most convenient to you. You can scarcely conceive the importance which gentlemen from every part of the country attach to this proposed meeting of Southern Unionists. We venture to say that we have, in a great measure, our destiny in our own hands. It is earnestly hoped that we will wisely use the power we possess.

Your obedient servants,

A. J. HAMILTON, of Texas,

M. J. SAFFOLD, of Alabama,

WM. B. STOKES, of Tennessee.

Committee.

SOUTHERN LOYALISTS' CONVENTION.

First Day.

The Delegates to the Southern Loyalists' Convention assembled at Independence Square on Monday, September 3d, 1866, when they were met by the Conference Delegates from the Northern States and escorted by the Union League of Philadelphia to their League House on Broad Street, and Charles Gibbons, Esq., on behalf of the League delivered the following Address of Welcome:

ADDRESS OF CHARLES GIBBONS, ESQ.

MEN OF THE SOUTH: The members of the Union League of Philadelphia greet you as fellow-loyalists and citizens of the United States. On their behalf and by their authority I welcome you here to-day as friends and brethren. There is no stain of loyal blood on your hands.

Your souls are free from the guilt of treason against our common country. We know something—perhaps but little—of the sacrifices you have made, of the persecution you have endured, of the heavy afflictions you have been through, all the dreary years of the Rebellion, for your fidelity to the Constitution and your devotion to the American Union. Many of your homes have been desolated, your pleasant places laid waste, and your wives and helpless children driven into exile, with breaking hearts, in penury and anguish, by the fiendish hate of traitors, who sought to make your loyalty a crime and to tear the United States from the map of nations! Through all this persecution—unparalleled in the history of modern times—“in perils by your own countrymen, in perils among false brethren, in weariness and painfulness, in watchings often, in hunger and thirst, in fastings often, in cold and nakedness,” you have held fast your integrity, as the world knows and God knows. With unshaken faith in the ultimate triumph of good over evil, you have watched through the long night of your sorrow for the coming of that better day when the flag of your country would be your sure protection in the enjoyment of your civil rights, when treason should be made infamous; when traitors should be punished and the rod of political power which was smiting you should be placed in your own hands. Brothers! during all these years of your separation from us, we too have been in sorrow! Our homes in the North have been filled with lamentation for the fathers and the sons slain in battle or starved to death by thousands in the prison-pens of Virginia and Georgia. The bodies of three hundred thousand Northern men, loyal and faithful in their lives, victims of treason, slavery, and rebellion, now fill that horrid gap that divided the loyalty of the North from the loyalty of the South! While the war was raging round your homes, although our sympathy was intensified by our own sorrows, it could not express itself in words but it flashed from a million Northern bayonets, and was pronounced by the mouths of Northern cannon, and thus it spoke in deeds! Earnestly stirring our souls to their very depths, it will live forever in secret association with our own heroic dead! These “Boys in Blue,” sons of the North, who “raillied round the flag” and advanced it, through fire and blood, till its power was supreme throughout the land! these “Boys in Blue,” part of your escort to-day, and their comrades everywhere, have written it on the tablets of their hearts, never to be effaced, that treason is infamous! For if it be not, what honor have they more than traitors? It is so written in every family Bible that contains a record of the death of a Union soldier or a Union refugee; it is inscribed on every hearthstone of the North, where the little orphan child vainly awaits the return of his father from the war; these Philadelphia firemen, fearless and ready men in every danger, tender and considerate men in their care of the wounded soldiers and

their helpless children; these mechanics and business men, and laboring men, every one of whom would scorn to eat the bread of official patronage at the price of his manhood; these trusty citizens of other States who unite with us in our welcome to-day, all meet you and greet you with that sentiment that glows in their loyal hearts, and binds together by a chain of sympathy that no adversity can break—"Treason is infamous." But our sympathy would not be full or cordial if it halted here. It goes much further. It is the honest sentiment of the North, held and uttered in the interests of Union, of peace, and of Christianity, that when the South returns to her duty, she must come in new robes, with new covenants for liberty, equality, and justice, led by her own loyal Unionists, who are free from the guilt of treason. For what hope have we in the future, or what security have you if unpunished and impenitent traitors shall be reinstated in power by the arbitrary and besotted will of one man, under a Constitution which they have deliberately forsworn. The answer is already written in the blood of the murdered loyalists of New Orleans. Men of the South, you are here on a high and solemn mission, having for its object the re-establishment of the American Union on the broad and sure foundations of equal and exact justice to all men. It can stand upon none other. We have no right to presume that the Great Ruler of the universe has permitted us to prevail over our enemies only to renew in other forms the oppression which in His providence has been overthrown. We cannot be so unmindful of all the lessons of the past as to be led by vagrant politicians into another compromise with crime, instead of lifting up from desperation those who have been its victims. Welcome, then, loyal brethren of the South, on your noble mission to the City of Philadelphia. Here, where the founders of Pennsylvania inaugurated his "holy experiment" of a Government based on the equality of man; here, where, a century later, the Representatives of the Thirteen Colonies unanimously declared it as a self-evident truth that "all men are created equal;" here, where the Constitution was formed and the Union consummated; here, where the Government was administered justly and in its purity by that illustrious man whose

Name alone strikes every living dead;

here, in Philadelphia, you are welcome, thrice welcome!

Gov. A. J. HAMILTON, of Texas, on behalf of the Southern Loyalists, responded.

REPLY OF GOV. HAMILTON.

Sir: In behalf of the assembly of Loyalists of the South, it becomes my pleasing duty to acknowledge and respond to the welcome that you have just pronounced in behalf of the Union League, and other associations of the City of Philadelphia, a duty that would be unmixed with pleasure, were it not that I cannot but remember

the cost of our assembly. I thank you, Sir, in the name of the Loyalists of the South, for the manner in which you have characterized this devotion to the Union. It is but just; I feel it in my heart. Spare me, fellow-citizens, the recital of the scenes through which we have passed. Let me at once direct myself to the present occasion—the cause of our assembling. We had well hoped that after the triumph of the armies of the Government of the United States in the suppression of rebellion against the authority of the Government, that those of us who had suffered so long and so patiently, would have some indemnity for the past. If not that, at least security for the future. We had fondly hoped that we would be permitted to return peaceably to our old habitations, to renew our associations with friends from whom we had been so long parted; that we could once more embrace our wives and children, from whom many of us had been long separated; that after the glorious issues of the war of the Rebellion, no one would be longer permitted to molest or make us afraid. But these hopes proved delusive. The experience of twelve months has taught us in bitterness of heart that what we considered a contest of principle as well as of arms, has but resulted in a measure of physical strength between the North and the South, and that to-day the spirit that animated the Rebellion, and called it to the contest of arms with the only pure Republic under Heaven, is as rampant to-day as the day when it first attacked the Government of our land. The prosecution of all who gave adhesion to the Government of the South, and periled life and property, is as rampant, as incorrigible, as dependent, as destructive, as vindictive, and as cruel as it was, at any period during the Rebellion. Seeing this, feeling its realization that so far as being remitted back to the peaceful homes, that we were but remitted back to the control of the same element that sought our destruction. A few of us in that condition from the South had happened to be up at the National Capitol, casting about what we should do, characterized by a desire for the preservation of the Government. We deemed the time propitious to call upon the Unionists of the South to send delegates to meet and consult together as to the condition of ourselves and of our common people. We believed we saw not only danger to ourselves, but a cloud, though not larger than the hand of man, on the verge of the horizon. We determined to make the call. The question recurred, where will we meet? We knew well there was no congenial spot of soil in all the South.

Where could we go? Instinctively our eyes turned to the goodly City of Philadelphia, the place where civil constitutional liberty upon the American continent had its birth; there, in the City of Franklin; there, in the shade of old Liberty Hall, Independence Hall, if we might not meet and consult there with the approving smiles of its citizens, where, under heaven, more propitious?

We have come, assured before we left our

homes, that we would meet a welcome, but, as much as we had heard of the hospitalities of this goodly city, far-famed as it is, it has far outstripped our expectations. For this welcome, Sir, in the name of the loved men here assembled in convention, as loyal citizens that represent every man, woman, and child, white and black, in the South, we tender you our hearty thanks.

We come to this Convention because we realize the fact in our condition at home that no principle, so far as it has application to the Administration is concerned, has been settled by the late contest. We realized that our fond hope that this Government would be such a government as our fathers intended when they framed it, giving not only freedom to every human being within it, but placing it on a sure foundation better than liberty, actual protection to every citizen. The result was not to be the principle upon which the Government was to be administered, but that we were left in the old condition to be remitted back to the tender mercies of the State which at their will and tender discretion might strike down the principles of human rights, and no protecting power be found in them. It is because, Sir, we believe the time was propitious to bring back the people of the Government to the primitive ideas of the Republic, to organize a party, or rather to improve the organization of the party devoted to the Republican principles, to bring it back upon the old platform of the Constitutional rights of every citizen in our land, that this convention has been convened. We invoke the assistance, prayers, and counsel of all our brethren everywhere throughout the United States. We ask all loyal delegations from the loyal States that came here, to give us the hand of welcome, not only to meet us, but to help us to remodel our Government in a purer, nobler faith than ever before—to prove to the President, Cabinet, and to his counselors everywhere, that the people of the United States, North and South, who are the loyalists to govern, will be satisfied with nothing less than actual security and individual equality and equal rights under the Constitution, as our forefathers gave it. If we can be met in this, Sir, our hearts are with you. Our fortunes have long since been expended; we have none.

Sept. 3, 1866, 1 o'clock.

The delegates having met pursuant to the call, the Convention was called to order by the Hon. W. B. Stokes, of Tennessee, who said:

GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION: I now proceed to announce the meeting of the true loyal men of the South. A few months ago, a few Union men in the City of Washington, feeling that the time had come when the true loyal men of the South should convene and declare their condition, their situation, both political, moral and social, issued a call for the loyal people of the South to assemble in Convention, in the City of Philadelphia, on this the 3d day of September.

I will now proceed to read the call.

The call having been read, the hon. gentleman remarked:

At the time this call was made it was believed by those who made it that the time had come when the loyal people of the South should take action. Hence the call was made. It had been clearly demonstrated, and it is being demonstrated every day more clearly, that the call was made none too soon—that the crisis had come. There are to-day but two political parties in the nation, and the question now before the American people is whether the loyal people—the men who have carried the flag—who have preserved civil and religious liberty in the nation, shall rule, or whether the power shall be with those who would betray it. You have met here to-day, fellow-citizens, to perform one of the greatest works that has ever been performed in this nation. I hope and trust and believe that you are men of discretion, that you are men of judgment, and I know that you are men of patriotism. I know that you will stand by your country and by its flag. We are here to-day from every State in the South. The loyal men of the North are also here and ready to go hand in hand with us to meet this great political party, at the head of which the Executive of the nation has placed himself. We will be enough for them, and we will meet this party at the ballot-box; and I know that when the time comes the loyal men of the nation will rise in their might and strength. I will not detain you longer, as I am anxious that the business for which the Convention met should progress. I desire to see the Convention organize and go about its work, and when we do go about it I trust that we will do so as men, and act fearlessly, knowing that we are traveling in the right road.

The Convention was organized by calling the Hon. Thomas J. Durant, of Louisiana, to the chair, who, on motion of Dr. R. O. Sidney, of Mississippi, was unanimously elected temporary chairman. Being conducted to the chair, Mr. Durant addressed the Convention as follows:

For this exalted and unmerited compliment from the loyal men of the South, I thank you, with sentiments of the deepest gratitude. The honor which you have conferred upon me will long live in my recollection, and in after years shall linger among the greenest spots in memory's waste. For more protracted discourse, this is neither time nor place; but now and here we should rather and more appropriately proceed at once to the execution of the patriotic and solemn duty which has gathered us together from the near and more distant regions of our beloved South. I will therefore invite you to make such motions as shall complete that temporary organization which is necessary for the preliminary purposes of this Convention. I presume it will be, in the first place, the appointment of one or more secretaries temporarily, to record your proceedings.

Weston Flint of Missouri, Thomas W. Conway of Louisiana, C. G. Baylor of Georgia, A. M.

Crane of Arizona, A. W. Campbell of West Virginia, Judge Lanman of Tennessee, and Albert Mace of Maryland, were nominated, and no objection being made, were confirmed as temporary Secretaries of the Convention.

Mr. Stokes—In accordance, gentlemen of the Convention, with a custom, never, I hope, to be deviated from in the deliberations of any Convention of the loyal men of our country, these proceedings should be opened by an invocation for the mercy of Divine Providence upon our deliberations. In accordance as I am informed, gentlemen, with a desire of the great majority of the Convention, and of the gentlemen who kindly acted as a preliminary Committee to facilitate our arrangements and proceedings, I will call upon the reverend gentleman who has been designated for the purpose to perform that function—the Rev. J. W. Jackson of this City.

PRAYER BY THE REV. MR. JACKSON.

O Lord, our Heavenly Father, the mighty Ruler of the Universe, Creator of all men, we approach Thee in the name and pleading the merits of our Lord Jesus Christ, the atoning sacrifice and the interceding High Priest for all men. In Thy good Providence, these men of the South, faithful to the Government of their Fathers—to the principles of civil and religious liberty embodied in the National charter proclaiming the civil rights of all men—have met in this birth-place of the Nation to confer together in relation to the great questions growing out of the bloody strife of over four years of rebellion inaugurated in the interests of the monstrous iniquity of American Slavery.

Bless the deliberations of this body. Inspire the understandings of Thy servants that their speech may be such as becometh men deliberating in the fear of God over the imperiled interests of Constitutional Government.

We give Thee humble and hearty thanks that Thou has preserved their lives in the midst of past dangers too terrible for human speech to portray. For the sake of the union of these States upon the principles of liberty and equality they have hazarded property, personal liberty, yea, even life itself. Many of them have pined in dungeons, fled to caves and caverns of the earth, wandered away from the homes of their childhood, the graves of their ancestry; accepting willingly bonds, scourgings, imprisonments, exile, deaths, rather than the surrender of their Constitutional birthright—the inheritance of a continent consecrated to Republican government under one flag. They weep for brothers fallen in the conflict. They tremble before the future threatening the loss of all for which patriots have suffered and died. Lift up their bowed down heads; strengthen their hearts, for the Lord God Omnipotent reigneth. Thou wilt not permit that the dead fallen in a struggle so holy, shall have died in vain. The voice of the brother's blood, martyr's for liberty and law, crieth to Thee from

the ground—and precious shall their blood be in thy sight. Thou wilt hear; Thou wilt judge the poor of Thy people; Thou wilt save the children of the needy; Thou wilt break in pieces the power of the oppressor!

Oh, God, Thou hast been good unto this nation, and for all Thy goodness how terribly have they requited Thee; with a high hand and an outstretched arm, have we sinned against Thee, framing iniquity by law; oppressing the poor, robbing the hireling of his wages, perverting judgment and justice, and degrading Thine image into a thing to be bought and sold in the market-place. But Thou, leading us by Thine own right hand and strong arm, hast delivered us; Thou didst make the path of justice the only way of the nation's safety, and the wrath of man to praise Thee in the unloosing of every yoke, the breaking of every bond. Now, O, God! we look to Thee. Warned by Thy judgments, incline our hearts to learn righteousness. Teach us as a people that righteousness exalteth a nation and that sin is a reproach to any people; that Governments are ordained by Thee to be a terror to evil-doers, a revenger to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil, to be a praise to them that do well; that if we obey not Thy voice Thou wilt cast us off. Teach this people to whom Thou hast committed government, as to none other, to execute righteous judgment in Thy fear, and by righteous legislation to secure to all people to whom, in Thy providence, Thou hast appointed this land for a heritage, the blessing of equal and exact justice before the law. Bless this one government by the people, of the people, and for the people, in its executive, legislative, and judicial departments, that they to whom are committed the authority and interests of a great nation may lead peaceable and quiet lives in all godliness and honesty, learning the will of the people in the will of God. Inspire the entire people with a love of country that many waters cannot quench, nor the floods drown. Keep us a nation faithful to the interests of humanity in in the preservation of that form of government whose perpetuity can only be secured by equal and exact justice to all.

Oh, our Father, we commit to Thee all our national and social interests. The earth is Thine and the kingdoms thereof. Endue these Thy servants in Convention assembled plentifully with heavenly gifts; grant, them in health and prosperity, long to live, and finally, after this life, to attain everlasting joy and felicity. Preserve the lives and health of their families during their absence. Overrule all strife and debate among us as a people to the honor and glory of Thy great name, to the establishment of justice, the insurance of domestic tranquillity, the promotion of the public welfare, and to the security of the blessings of civil and religious liberty to all classes of the people and to their posterity forever. Amen.

Then followed the Lord's Prayer, responded to by the Convention.

The roll of the States was then called, and the following members were named as the Committee on Credentials:

COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS.

Texas.....HON. JAS. H. BELL.
Tennessee.....GEN. HORACE H. THOMAS.
Louisiana.....WM. R. CRANE.
Virginia.....GEORGE R. GILMER.
W. Virginia....GEN. R. S. NORTHCOTT
Georgia.....G. W. ASHBURN.
Alabama.....D. H. BINGHAM.
Kentucky.....R. C. GWATHNEY.
Mississippi.....JOSEPH W. FIELD.
Missouri.....COL. F. T. LEDERGERBER.
Arkansas.....GEN. A. A. C. RODGERS.
N. Carolina....H. K. FURNISS.
Maryland.....GEN. A. W. DENNISON.
Delaware.....JOHN H. ADAMS.
Florida.....C. L. ROBINSON.
D. of Columbia.D. C. FORNEY.

SERGEANT-AT-ARMS.

On motion of a delegate, William H. Heydt, Sergeant-at-Arms of the Tennessee Legislature, was appointed Sergeant-at-Arms of this Convention.

COMMITTEE ON PERMANENT ORGANIZATION.

Mr. Miller, Missouri, moved that a Committee on Permanent Organization, to consist of one member from each State represented, be appointed in the same manner as the Committee on Credentials.

COMMITTEE ON PERMANENT ORGANIZATION.

Geo. Rye, Norfolk, Virginia; Gen. Madison Miller, Missouri; Henry Stockbridge, Maryland; Cornelius Curtis, Florida; Jerome Hinds, Alabama; James L. Dunning, Georgia; R. O. Sidney, Mississippi; C. Caldwell, Texas; John H. Atkinson, West Virginia; Max Cohnheim, District Columbia; A. J. Fletcher, Tennessee; H. W. Hawes, Kentucky; H. C. Warmouth, Louisiana; David R. Goodloe, North Carolina; John A. Alderdice, Delaware; George Rodgers, Arkansas.

The Convention then adjourned to meet at 10 o'clock to-morrow.

S cond Day.

The Convention assembled at 10 o'clock, the temporary chairman, Hon. Thos. J. Durant, of Louisiana, in the chair. The Rev. M. Matlack offered the following prayer:

Almighty God, our Father who art in Heaven! We recognize Thee as the Father of the spirits of all men. We recognize ourselves as a common brotherhood. We recognize a community in the family of men that makes it proper for all, however inclined and governed, to say, Our Father who art in Heaven!

We come with gratitude in our hearts; we come with an humble trust. We have occasion of rejoicing; we have reason for reverence, for earnest solemnity, for deep solicitude, and we ask Thy guidance.

We pray Thee that our nation may learn to deal justly and love mercy and walk humbly before Thee. We pray that this convocation may help to develop a sentiment

which shall recognize that "righteousness exalteth a nation, while sin is a reproach to any people."

We ask Thy blessing on our deliberations. We recognize in those who are present, men who were tried, and, by Thy might strengthening them, have sustained every test of loyalty, and are here to testify their devotion to God, as well as to prepare for securing the permanent blessings of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness to themselves, and to all men forever.

Oh, do Thou regard them favorably, and direct their minds, aiding them to follow out such lines of action as shall conduce to the most permanent and glorious results. We ask these blessings in the name and for the sake of the dear Redeemer, Jesus Christ. Amen.

The Chairman then announced the order of business as follows:

GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION: The first business in the orders of the day will be the report of the committee appointed yesterday on the credentials of members. The report of the committee is therefore now called for

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON CREDENTIALS.

G. W. Ashburn, of Georgia, chairman on the committee on credentials, presented a report, as follows:

Resolved, That the Convention receive the report of the members from each State as final as to the qualifications of its members.

Texas, 15; Louisiana, 81; Tennessee, 81; Virginia, 61; West Virginia, 51; Georgia, 9; Alabama, 4; Kentucky, 13; Mississippi, 3; Missouri, 39; Arkansas, 2; North Carolina, 6; Maryland, 60; Delaware, 6; Florida, 7; District of Columbia, 27. Total, 456.

The report was adopted.

Mr. Fletcher, of Tennessee, from committee on permanent organization, reported the following as officers of the Convention:

PRESIDENT,

Hon. James Speed, of Kentucky.

VICE-PRESIDENTS,

E. M. Pease, of Texas.

Anthony Fernandez, of Louisiana.

Joseph W. Field, of Mississippi.

D. H. Bingham of Louisiana.

Colonel O. R. Hart, of Florida.

Gov. Wm. G. Brownlow, of Tennessee.

Joseph H. Glover, of Kentucky.

George P. Strong, of Missouri.

H. C. Cole, of Georgia.

Rev. Hope Beauty, of South Carolina.

Hon. John Minor Botts, of Virginia.

Gov. A. J. Boreman, of West Virginia.

Gen. Joseph Gerhardt, District of Columbia.

Hon. J. A. J. Creswell, of Maryland.

A. A. C. Rodgers, of Arkansas.

Thos. B. Goursey, of Delaware.

SECRETARIES,

Col. Weston Flint, of Missouri.

Samuel C. Mercer, of Tennessee.

John T. Ensor, of Maryland.

Henry W. Davis, of Mississippi.

Col. Charles C. Gill, of Kentucky.

C. G. Bayler, of Georgia.

J. W. Wynone, of North Carolina.
 John H. Adams, of Delaware.
 Judge N. F. Saffold, of Alabama.
 J. N. Boyd, of West Virginia.
 Jesse Stancell, of Texas.
 Peter A. Fennerty, of Arkansas.
 E. Hiestand, of Louisiana.
 John W. Price, of Florida.
 S. P. Brown, District of Columbia.

CHAPLAIN :

Rev. John B. Newman, D. D., of Louisiana.

The report was adopted unanimously, and the President, the Hon. James Speed, of Kentucky, was conducted to the chair by the Hon. A. J. Hamilton, of Texas, and Lysander Hill, of Virginia.

Judge Saffold, of Alabama, requested leave to withdraw his name as one of the Secretaries, which was agreed to.

The President then spoke as follows :

*ADDRESS OF THE HON. JAMES SPEED,
 OF KENTUCKY.*

GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION, LOYAL MEN OF THE SOUTHERN STATES HERE ASSEMBLED: I thank you most cordially for your kindness in calling me to preside over your deliberations. I feel that you could have called worthier men than I am. I take the position, however, and will fill it to the best of my ability. In my time, gentlemen, I have received some honors, and have borne them meekly; but I feel in my heart that the honor conferred on me this day by this Convention, voluntarily associated—Southern men, devoted to their country and to freedom—as the highest honor I have ever yet received. Though the position I hold to-day to many may seem a humble one, yet I feel, as you feel, that we are assembled here upon a grand and a great mission, and at a great time. Why are we here, gentlemen? Why is it that so many of us have come from the furthest portions of this country, not at the request or upon the suggestion of those in power, but of our own accord and at our own expense—why is it, I say, that we are here to-day? Why is it that we have come to the good old City of Philadelphia; and above all, why is it that when we did come here the hearts of this loyal people were stirred, and they turned almost by millions to greet us with this spectacle? Did they come out simply to see “a reed shaken by the wind?” Did they come out simply for the purpose of seeing men, brave men, who are to-day what men ought to be to-morrow, who have had their trials in the past and expect to meet others in the future? They turned out to receive us and greet us somewhat upon our personal account, it may be, but mainly and chiefly because we are the representatives of a great truth. It was not to us as men so much as it was to the principles which we represent; because in our past lives we had shown devotion to principle, and because we were here for the purpose of renewing upon

the altar of liberty, in this ancient State and among these loyal people, our pledges, and declaring our purpose to stand by the principles upon which this Government is founded. I beg you, gentlemen, in the deliberations of this Convention, to bear this great fact in mind. Let it control your thoughts and actions. Let your thoughts and your actions be free, firm, clear, out-spoken, but dignified, loving and merciful. What principle is it then that we represent? Why is it that we are here? Why is it that we received such an ovation upon our coming? What is it and how is it that the people of this great nation are stirred now as they have rarely been stirred heretofore? Just think of it! Last June, eighteen months ago, in this country, more than one million of men were arrayed in arms against each other. The passions which lead to bloodshed, the passions which were consequent upon the flowing of human blood, then swayed and controlled alike individuals and communities. The whole country was awake, and as it were on tiptoe, hearkening to the tread of great armies, listening to the echoes of battles coming in, or expecting more severe battles to follow. Then the country was stirred; then the country was aroused; but the great army of the Republic, that army which had consecrated itself to Constitutional liberty and the establishment of freedom—that noble band of patriots and of warriors have performed the task assigned them; nobly did they do their work. They disarmed traitors, dispersed the hostile bands, destroyed the organized power of rebels, and took the arms from the hands of traitors and enemies. That band of patriots and warriors has been dispersed, and now they sit in this crowd, without epaulettes, without badge, without uniform. Their occupation yielded to the ballot-box—yields to the regular order and peaceful agencies of this Government, for the purpose of accomplishing the remainder of the work. The soldiers of our army, in common with all good men, never wish to see war again. But the soldiers of our army, as all good men, while they wish never to see war again, while they wish to see peace, they wish peace established upon principles permanent and sure; not a seeming peace; they wish principles established which have their origin, because of their truth, in the bosom of God himself. That is, the principles of equal justice and equal rights, and equal security to every human being within the jurisdiction of the United States. With Southern men who have seen this great sin of Slavery—which some said was the corner-stone of Republican institutions—and say, with Southern men, who have seen Slavery, do know not only historically, but we do know experimentally, that it must perish from the face of the earth. We are here, then, and the country feels everywhere that we are here in the interest of truth in this country; all the country feels, our adversaries feel, that since this Rebellion was put down a Convention has sat in this place with which you and I could not act. I was

glad, however, to see it. And why was that here? It was here, in part, because the great cry came up from the white man of the South, "My constitutional and my natural rights are denied me." This was the great complaint, and if sincerely made on both sides, utterly antagonistic the one to the other. Which is right? That is for this Convention to say. Upon that question, if upon none other, as Southern men speak out your minds. Speak the truth as you feel it; speak the truth as you know it; speak the truth as you feel for your country; speak the truth as you love permanent peace, as you hope to establish the institutions of this Government, so that our children and our children's children shall enjoy a peace that we have not known. I tell you, unless we do this, there can be no peace. Gentlemen, I say that but a short time ago, a Convention was held in this city. That Convention, to my mind, did much that was good; but it was not wholly unmixed good. That Convention, as I read its history, came here and simply recorded, in abject submission, the commands of one man. That Convention did his commands; the loyal Congress of the United States refused to do it. Aye, and if you ever have a Congress in these United States of America, that does not resolutely and firmly refuse, as the present Congress has done, to be merely a recording secretary of the tyrant of the White House, American liberty is gone for ever. To my mind, it is as important that Congress should be commended in this particular for that reason, independently of the merits of the question, and for the reason that they have fought for themselves, that they have spoken for themselves, and that they have stood up against all sorts of influences for that which they believed and knew to be right. I am sorry for the dead silence, sorry for the want of freedom of thought and of speech that marked that Convention. Still, as I have said, its proceedings were not unmixed with good. What good sprang from that Convention? Gentlemen, you all know that we have had an old defiant party, long the ruler of this country—quondam Democratic, quondam Copperhead. To my apprehension the vain characteristic of that party has been that it has been crusted all over with prejudice, covering up the light of truth and the light of day. I know their prejudice, for the most part, has been this, that Slavery was a divine institution, that it was a thing that should not be discussed or spoken of; it was a household god. This was the conduct of this old defiant and proud party. At the August Convention the men of that party constituted a vast majority of the Convention. Now, mark gentlemen, one of the resolutions of that Convention distinctly said that Slavery was abolished, and must never be reestablished. I ask you if this old Democratic idea has not struck its colors and bowed in submission to this Republican party? There is some good in that. It marks an event in the progress of human freedom. That this old, purblind party upon this subject has at last got

this prejudice broken, and that it has come in, slowly and reluctantly it may be, but that it has gone so far as to acknowledge the fact that Slavery is abolished and ought not to be resumed. But further, we of the Republican party, we of the Union party, have gone further than that. In June, 1864, in the Convention at Baltimore which nominated Mr. Lincoln for the Presidency and Mr. Johnson for the Vice-Presidency, it was announced that Slavery should be extirpated, taken out of our Constitution, root and branch, body and soul, every lineament and every fiber of it. Mark, gentlemen, the difference between the two. One is to extirpate, not simply to cut off the head or the limb of the terrible monster, but all the fearful consequences and incidents that resulted from Slavery. What are they? An equal representation. As long as Slavery remained, as long as there is a man, no matter what his color, unrepresented in the Government, aye, as long as there is a man who, because of his color, cannot stand equal with his fellow-man in all the Courts of justice. All these incidents the great Republican party pledged themselves, if possible, should be extirpated. Oh, you Southern men! when you were at that time, as it were, in the prison-house of the South, when you heard this pledge, it came as the sweetest, surest note of hope that you had. We men of the South that were in that last and almost hopeless contest—we men of the South now here in this old city, under the sound and within hearing of that bell that first proclaimed freedom to all the nations of the world—here, where the Declaration of Independence was announced, that was afterwards baptized in the blood of the Revolution—here, where the Constitution of the United States sprang from the blood of the Revolution—here, we men of the South come to conjure this nation, come to conjure the men that made that declaration, in God's name, to fulfill it. There are, gentlemen of the Convention, other subjects which in my estimation should come before us and be considered by the Convention. I speak, of course, for myself, and for myself alone, when I call your attention to the subjects upon which, I think, more than all others, you ought to take action. It is said that the Southern States have abolished Slavery. I call the attention of the Convention to the fact that every Southern State, North Carolina, I believe, alone excepted, have not of themselves, abolished Slavery, but have announced in their constitution that Slavery has been abolished by the military power of the United States, and ought not to be reestablished. I want to call the attention of the Convention to this peculiar language. When I first saw this expression several Southern gentlemen were in conversation with me and I was assured by them that the language had been carefully selected with the view that it might never be said of them that they had assented to the abolition of Slavery and that hereafter, when represented in the Congress of the United States, they might demand of the

Government compensation for their emancipated slaves. It is not necessary for me to say before this Convention that they have no just right to any compensation. Although if they will assume the vast debt which has been incurred by the Government of the United States because of their treason and rebellion we will pay them for their slaves. But independently of that, upon principle, they are not entitled to any compensation. Then, gentlemen, this Convention ought to say to the people of this nation, if you would be secure and safe in this matter, fix it in the Constitution of the United States, where no department of this Government can repeal it, that emancipated slaves are never to be paid for. Again, the Southern people, when they assembled and made their several State Constitutions, provided that the Rebel debt was not to be paid. Every Southerner knows with what reluctance they did that. It required the positive command of the President and all the power of the Government to exact that enactment from them. That enactment will be repealed by State action. They can, by State action, undo what they have done, and assume the payment of the debt which they have now under coercion repudiated. Write it down in the fundamental law of the land, and let the loyal people see that it is thus written down that no money shall ever be paid out of the coffers of the people, either North or South, for the overthrow and destruction of this Government. Upon these subjects, and more particularly on the subject of equal justice in representation, I think that this Convention ought to speak. These Southern men complain that their constitutional and national rights are infringed. If they complain fairly, say so. If they ask more than justice, deny it. They have no right to it. If they ask that the vote and power of one white man in South Carolina shall equal the vote and power of two white men in Pennsylvania, and you think it unjust, say so. If they ask less than justice, give them full measure, but if they ask more than justice, deny them. The disfranchisement of the Rebels and the enfranchisement of the Blacks is also a subject which should come before this Convention, and upon that subject, gentlemen, I have only to say: "Do nothing in anger. Do nothing in hatred. Do nothing from ill-will or revenge, but do that which justice and right, mercy and love shall dictate." Their work, and theirs alone, will endure for ever. That which is done in justice and mercy will be eternal. Let love—love for mankind, not love for this or that man, and for this or that party be your guide, your motive in what you may do, and such action will pour a hotter fire upon the heads and consciences of those who oppose you than all that can be done through spite or ill-will, or from a feeling of revenge. I am of those who believe that love—love for God and love for man—is the only law of the world. I believe that he who manifests that love will act more thoroughly and effectually than can the bad and vile of this world by any exhibition of passion

and violence. Trusting, gentlemen of the Convention, that you will be deliberate but earnest in your deliberations, and that you will maintain such order as I know you feel inclined to do, I again thank you for the honor which you have shown me.

Resolutions were offered and adopted inviting Gen. John W. Geary, Gen. B. F. Butler, Gen. Burnside, Hon. Mayor McMichael, Hon. B. F. Wade, and other Senators and Representatives in Congress, to seats on the platform.

Resolutions were adopted for the appointment of a committee, to be composed of one delegate from each State, to prepare an address of the Convention to the People. Also a like committee of one delegate from each State to prepare resolutions for the consideration of the Convention.

COMMITTEE ON ADDRESS.

Texas, the Hon. W. Paschal; Louisiana, the Hon. William S. Fish; Tennessee, Dr. A. W. Hawkins; Virginia, J. A. W. Hunnicutt; Western Virginia, John H. Atkinson; Georgia, G. W. Ashburn; Alabama, M. J. Stackpole; Kentucky, Dr. Thomas W. Coldstock; Mississippi, R. B. Sidney; Missouri, the Hon. Samuel Knox; Arkansas, ———; North Carolina, the Hon. Daul. R. Goodloe; Maryland, the Hon. J. A. J. Creswell; Delaware, John A. Alderdice; Florida, the Hon. Philip Frazer; District of Columbia, A. D. C. Forney.

COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS.

Texas, Gov. A. J. Hamilton; Louisiana, the Hon. Thomas J. Durant; Tennessee, the Hon. Wm. B. Stokes; Virginia, Lysander Hill; West Virginia, A. N. Campbell; Georgia; Capt. J. E. Bryant; Alabama, Albert Griffin; Kentucky, Dr. R. J. Breckinridge; Mississippi, James W. Field; Missouri, Gov. Thomas C. Fletcher; Arkansas, Gen. A. H. Rogers; North Carolina, the Hon. A. H. Jones; Maryland, Charles C. Fulton; Delaware, Jacob Moore; Florida, Col. C. B. Hart; District of Columbia, Dr. Boyd.

The President then read the following telegram, which he had just received:

To the President of the Loyalists in Convention assembled: Cincinnati, Sept. 3, 1866.—At an enthusiastic meeting of the citizens of Cincinnati, it was resolved that we send our heartfelt greetings to our brethren in Philadelphia assembled.

A motion was made and adopted to extend the invitation to Miss Anna Dickinson to take a seat on the platform.

A letter was read from the Union League Club of New York City, inviting the Convention of Southern delegates to attend and participate in a mass meeting in that city soon after the adjournment of the Convention.

On motion of Gen. Hamilton, of Texas, the invitation was accepted, and a Committee of five appointed to respond to the invitation and fix the time for the meeting.

The Committee consists of the following gentlemen: Gov. Hamilton of Texas, Gov. Boreman of West Virginia, C. W. Butz of Virginia, Judge Bond of Maryland, and the Hon. Horace Maynard of Tennessee.

On motion of the Hon. H. C. Warmouth, of Louisiana, it was ordered that a Committee of one from each State be appointed to procure a statement of the condition in which the loyal men of the non-reconstructed States have been placed by Andrew Johnson's reconstruction policy.

The Committee was appointed as follows:

COMMITTEE ON RECONSTRUCTION.

Texas, James H. Bell; Louisiana, the Hon. H. C. Warmouth; Georgia, C. G. Baylor; Alabama, Capt. D. H. Bingham; Mississippi, R. O. Sidney; Arkansas, J. W. Bate; North Carolina, A. W. Fougeray; Florida, Col. Hunt.

The letters which have been received by Capt. B. H. Bingham, Secretary of the Committee, who issued the call for the Convention in relation to the condition of affairs in the South, were, on motion of Mr. Albert Griffin, of Alabama, referred to the above Committee.

The Hon. Hugh R. Bond, of Maryland, offered the following resolution, and asked that it be referred to the Committee on Resolutions:

Resolved, That this Convention urge the loyal men of the North to support Congress in demanding of the Southern States the guarantee of the Constitutional Amendment passed by Congress, and to call upon the patriotic men of the Loyal States to use their exertions to secure the ratification of this amendment by the States; and that we believe that the justice we mete shall be the measure of our safety; and in our opinion there can be no permanent peace or security for the loyal men of the south without a return to negro suffrage.

The resolution was referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Mr. Butts (Va.) offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That we now receive the delegates from the States who have sent their gallant sons to welcome us to the City of Philadelphia, in the following order, viz.: New Jersey, Pennsylvania, New York, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Michigan, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Iowa, Connecticut, Vermont, California, Oregon, Nevada, Nebraska, Maine, New Hampshire, Kansas, and Colorado.

Mr. Barr (Tenn.) moved to amend by substituting the following:

Resolved, That a committee of five be appointed by the President to wait upon the Northern delegations and invite them to seats in this body.

Gov. Fletcher moved further to amend the resolution, by providing that a committee of five members be appointed by the President to confer with the delegations from the Northern States

and perfect arrangements with them to unite with the delegations from all the States and Territories who are now in the city.

The Chair announced the following gentlemen as constituting the committee under the above resolution: Governor Fletcher, of Missouri; Hon. John Minor Botts, of Virginia; Col. Nunez, of Kentucky; W. T. Willey, of West Virginia; and Hon. N. B. Smithers, of Delaware.

Senator Creswell (Md.) offered the following resolution, adopted by the Maryland delegation at a meeting last evening, and requested that it be referred to the Committee on Resolutions:

Resolved, That the Union party of the Southern States accept, in all its length and breadth, the political platform offered to the nation in the amendments to the Constitution, passed by our late wise and patriotic Congress, and oppose the addition of any further requirements for the immediate admission of the late rebellious States.

Mr. E. Hiestand, of Louisiana, offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That we, as the representatives of the loyal States lately in rebellion against the Government, demand of the President of the United States the publication of the testimony taken before the Military Commission appointed by Brevet Major-Gen. Baird, commanding the Department of Louisiana, to examine into the causes of the massacre of loyal men in the city of New Orleans, on the 30th day of July last, as well as the report made by the said commission, in order that the people of the United States may see the manner in which said massacre was resolved upon and deliberately executed by the reconstructed Rebels of the South.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Mr. C. G. Baylor, of Georgia, said: "I am requested by the Georgia delegation to report the following resolutions as the platform of our principles":

Resolved, That we forgive and forget the wrong of secession, but do not propose to make it meritorious; we propose to ignore it, but not to reward it; we propose to accept and reward men who stand upon their own merits, and not on the wrong of secession; we propose to admit into this delegation those who, renewing in good faith the dogma of State authority as opposed to National authority, are also willing to stand on the Republican doctrine of impartial suffrage and equality before the law.

Signed by C. G. Baylor, H. S. Cole, G. W. Ashburn, and S. E. Bryant.

The resolution was referred.

The Louisiana and Alabama delegations made similar statements.

General Hamilton, on behalf of the Texas delegation, announced that they endorsed the same sentiments.

Mr. Lysander Hill stated that the majority of the Virginia delegation also endorsed these sentiments.

Gen. R. S. Northcott, from West Virginia, offered the following, which was adopted:

Resolved, That suffrage is a sacred privilege, not an inalienable right, but a privilege which should be conferred on none but the loyal and intelligent.

The resolution was referred.

Mr. Hill, of Virginia, offered the following:

Resolved, That we cordially endorse the action of Congress on the question of Reconstruction, so far as it has gone, but that we desire on this occasion to express, in the most unqualified manner, our deep conviction that the only settlement of our national difficulties which can guarantee the stability of the Government and insure protection to the liberties and rights of all men, must be based upon impartial manhood suffrage; without it, the Unionists of the South are in a minority and are at the mercy of traitors; with it, they are a strong majority and can enforce allegiance to the laws. Every consideration of justice, expediency, and consistency with the principles upon which our Government was founded demands it, and we call upon the loyal North, in their coming elections, to instruct our Congress, when it shall meet again, to add to the Constitution this last and most effectual guarantee of the permanence of our Republic.

The resolution was referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Mr. Mullins, of Tennessee, offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That the vote on all questions brought before this Convention shall be taken by States, and that each State shall be allowed the number of representatives that such State had in Congress in the years 1859 and 1860.

Mr. Hamilton (Tenn.) hoped the resolution would not prevail.

Mr. Mullins asked what other rule could be adopted to govern this body. Tennessee being largely represented here could vote down four or five States. He would submit to any proper amendment.

A delegate from Maryland moved to amend by allowing votes to all the delegates in the Convention.

Mr. Sands (Md.) wanted to do justice to all men; but this was one of the most important days, days big with fate, that now dawned upon the world. He would appeal to gentlemen from what were called unreconstructed States, and ask them what the Convention could do for them? They could not give them the bayonet, that was in the hands of the commander-in-chief of the army and navy, who would sooner draw it against them than against the rebels. [Applause.]

Mr. Mullins (Tenn.)—That is not the question before the house.

Mr. Stokes (Tenn.) hoped his friend from Maryland (Sands) would yield the floor in order

that he might make an appeal to his friend from Tennessee (Mullins) to withdraw his resolution.

Mr. Mullins.—If it will give him any satisfaction on earth, he may consider it withdrawn.

Mr. Fletcher, of Tennessee, offered the following resolution, which was adopted:

Resolved, That a committee of five be appointed to prepare an address to the American people, showing the effect upon the loyal people of Tennessee of the policy promulgated by the President.

GRANT AND FARRAGUT.

The Secretary read a dispatch from Detroit announcing that Grant and Farragut had left the Presidential party, which created the wildest enthusiasm, the entire Convention rising and waving their hats, and giving three cheers for Grant and Farragut.

On motion, the Convention then adjourned till to-morrow morning at 10 o'clock.

Third Day.

Wednesday, Sept. 5, 1866.

The Convention was called to order by the President at 10½ o'clock, and after prayer by the Chaplain, Rev. Dr. J. P. Newman.

The President announced that he yesterday received a communication from his Honor Morton McMichael, Mayor of the city of Philadelphia, but by some accident it had not been presented to the Convention.

The communication was read, as follows:

September 3, 1866.

To the Delegates composing the Convention of Loyal Southern Unionists:

Gentlemen:—At a special meeting of the Select and Common Councils, held this day, the following preamble and resolutions were adopted:

RESOLUTIONS OF WELCOME.

Whereas, A Convention of Southern Unionists is to assemble in this city to-day for the purpose of devising ways and means to give the States lately in rebellion their proper status in the American Union; and

Whereas, Said Convention will be composed of Southern men who remained true to the Government of the United States during the recent war; and

Whereas, The citizens of Philadelphia are ever true and always patriotic, abhorring treason and detesting traitors, but loving patriotism and delighting to honor patriots; therefore

Resolved, By the Select and Common Councils of the city of Philadelphia, that we recognize the men about to assemble in convention in this city as the true and tried patriots of the South, who risked their lives and periled their fortunes to maintain their devotion to the Government of the United States amid the dangers and trials of rebellion, and that as such we honor them for their courage and love them for their fidelity.

Resolved, That as a mark of our honor and esteem, the Mayor be and he is hereby requested to welcome them, and extend to them the freedom of the city during their sojourn with us, and that a special committee of five members be and is hereby appointed to show them all the courtesy within their power.

In fulfillment of these resolutions, I hereby tender to you, gentlemen, in the name of the municipal authorities, a cordial welcome to the city of Philadelphia. The sacrifices you have made and the sufferings you have endured in maintaining the national unity, have awakened in your behalf the warmest admiration and the deepest sympathy of our citizens; and the objects you have met to promote will receive from them their heartiest co-operation.

During your stay among us, therefore, it will be our study to render you such courtesies in your private relations, and to secure to you such aid in your public deliberations as will at once mark our appreciation of your personal merits and your patriotic efforts. With assurances of the highest regard, I have the honor to be,

MORTON McMICHAEL,
Mayor of Philadelphia.

Gen. Hammond, of Missouri.—Mr. President, the reception that we have received from the citizens of Philadelphia cannot but result in producing feelings of the most profound gratitude on our part. I move that a committee of five be appointed to tender our thanks and make a response to the invitation of the worthy Mayor and Council of Philadelphia.

The motion was agreed to, and the following gentlemen appointed by the Chair as the committee: Gen. Hammond, of Missouri; Judge Sherwood, of Texas; Wm. Wyne, of Tennessee; Wm. Hill, of Virginia; H. R. Torbert, of Maryland.

The following letter from the German Central Union League, of Maryland, was read:

Baltimore, Md., Sept. 3, 1866.

At a meeting of the "German Central Union League," of the State of Maryland, held at the City of Baltimore, on the 3d day of September, 1866, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

Whereas, The majority of German-born citizens residing in the Southern States have been found on the side of the Union, and have sacrificed life, liberty, wealth, and happiness during the rebellion, and are even now struggling against the baneful influences of secession doctrines; and

Whereas, A Convention of demagogues and selfish politicians was lately held at the City of Philadelphia, for no other apparent purpose than to break up the great Union Party which has so gloriously vindicated the supremacy of our national Constitution by the overthrow of an armed rebellion, and to transfer and secure the power

of government to the hands of unscrupulous office seekers and unrepenting traitors; and

Whereas, A convention of loyal Southern men is now assembled at Philadelphia, Pa., soliciting and claiming of all true Union men, firm and persevering efforts in favor of the principles of rational freedom and Republican Government, and their speedy extension over the rebellious states; therefore,

Resolved, That we heartily sympathize with the loyal people of the South in the dangers and humiliation they have to endure, and that we pledge ourselves that our firm and united efforts, as well in the pending elections as ever hereafter, shall be directed toward the establishment of perfect peace, harmony, and prosperity of all the States and people of this great Republic on the basis of justice and equal rights.

Resolved, That we deeply deplore that a Convention of Southern Union men could not be held within the limits of the late rebellious States, and that we are fully convinced that the present insecure and deplorable state of affairs in the Southern States is the consequence of the unwise, traitorous policy which is pursued by our Chief Magistrate, and upon which we look with perfect detestation.

Resolved, That we recognize the representatives of the people in the Congress assembled, as the only power competent to decide upon the terms and conditions of a restoration of the late rebellious States to their former rights and their relationship in the Union, and that we consider the amendments to the Constitution, proposed by the present Congress, not only as lenient in the highest degree toward traitors, but also as just, wise, and well adapted to secure the fruits of the triumph of principle, truth, and fealty over arrogance and treason; and we hope that all true Republicans, North and South, will support and accept in good faith those amendments as a basis of lasting peace.

Resolved, That it is justly due to all loyal Southern men who have proved their loyalty in the days of danger and privation, that they should receive at the hands of Government not only guarantees for future security, but also a formal and a substantial reward in the disfranchisement of the traitors and in the elevation of none but loyal men to offices of trust or emolument.

For the League,

CHS. BARTELL, *President.*

IL. F. WELLINGHOFF, *Cor. Sec.*

The following telegram and letters were read:

Syracuse, Sept. 4, 1866.

To the Chairman of Convention of Southern Loyalists, Phila.:

The New York State Council of the Union League of America, congratulates their Southern friends on the happy auspices under which they are assembled in a loyal city.

ISAAC M. SCHERMERHORN.

Key West, Florida, Aug. 18, 1866.

To the Chairman of the Southern Unionists' Convention, Philadelphia, Pa.:

Dear Sir: I wish to contribute my unconditional indorsement to the pending Constitutional Amendment.

I took the liberty (in Feb.) of suggesting to Messrs. Sumner and Stevens an amendment that would give the National Legislature discretionary power to enlarge, but not restrict the elective franchise in the States. Congress has done the next best thing, and proposed an amendment that will afford a *pressure* toward the enlargement of the elective franchise.

It will be uncompromisingly opposed by all of President Johnson's reorganized State Governments, looking even to the employment of force. The ghost of the late rebellion still walks abroad and is being rapidly galvanized into the spirit of another, to be ready at any moment to take corporeal form by *armed resistance to this amendment* at the beek of Northern copperheads.

The amendment is a good *experimentum crucis*, and is so thoroughly sound, reasonable, and proper in all its parts, that no disloyal Legislature will adopt, and no loyal Legislature dare reject it. Its extreme mildness is its greatest merit in one point of view. Congress, with all the loyal States in solid phalanx at its back, and the disloyal alone obstinately and fool-hardily rejecting it, will then be brought face to face with the necessity of sweeping away disloyal opposition by re-reorganizing these States, and in doing so will have the hearty support of the Nation.

Very respectfully, &c.,

SAMUEL WALKER.

Charleston, S. C., Aug. 31st, 1866.

To the President and Members of the "Southern Loyalists' Convention," assembled in Philadelphia, Penn.:

Gentlemen: We have waited anxiously with the expectation that some demonstration would be made by some native loyal citizen or citizens of our State to secure representation at your patriotic Convention. But you may search South Carolina as "with candles," and we very much doubt if a single native white citizen could be found who has the least sympathy in this movement, or if he has it, dares express it openly. While our State and Massachusetts could go arm in arm into the recent "Union Convention," thereby presenting a spectacle which, it is said, caused *mortals* to weep, if not *angels*, not one solitary individual can be found who is willing in this cause to extend a friendly arm, even to those in sympathy with it from our sister Southern States. The delegates from this State to the convention recently gathered at Philadelphia asserted that the people here were all loyal, that they "accepted the situation" in good faith, that they were disposed to treat all classes of our population with equal candor and justice, and that they were inclined to respect all laws and obligations which the regularly constituted law-makers and the Constitution of the

country imposed upon them. But the *press* and the *people* by their acts emphatically contradict all these representations. They do not "accept the situation." They wage constant and bitter war against it. Even Northern men, who are here in official capacities or with capital to invest, are compelled to subject themselves in all their words and deeds to the "Procrustean bed" of "Southern opinion," or they are ostracised entirely from social and civil life. Ministers of our holy religion and teachers who come here solely to elevate the lowly from the degradation into which they have been plunged, are not only almost entirely ignored, but they are actually despised, and often suffer insult and abuse. The illustrious Senators and Representatives in Congress who reflect the well-nigh unanimous sentiment of the great North and West, and who by unparalleled majorities enact laws and ordinances for the government of the country, are stigmatized as a gang of lawless, unprincipled "factionists" who are bent on the destruction of the Government and the country.

Such are a few indications of the kind of loyalty exhibited by this people.

Gentlemen, delegates of the Convention, our sympathies are with you in your sublime work. We are both pained and ashamed that South Carolina must be a blank at your incomparably important gathering. We admire the patriotism and the courage exhibited on your part in taking this sublime step. We know the hazard of all political as well as social position which you incur at home by this demonstration, and even the peril of life itself to which you subject yourselves.

Be firm in the right, be true to your country, to humanity, and to God, and our benedictions, and those of millions like us who are sighing for the rights and blessings which you propose to confer upon us, will follow you ever.

WILLIAM J. BROADIE, *President*,

JAMES H. HAYNE, *Secretary*,

U. L. A. Council No. 1.

JOHN W. WRIGHT, *President*,

JAMES WILLIAMS, *Secretary*,

U. L. A. Council No. 3

WM. B. NASH, *President*,

JAMES EDWARD, *Secretary*,

U. L. A. Council No. 5,
Columbia, S. C.

Col. W. S. Pope, of Missouri, offered the following resolutions:

Resolved, That the one great and only practical issue before the people at the present time and in the coming elections is the indorsement or defeat of the Constitutional amendment proposed to the people by the Thirty-ninth Congress.

Resolved, That as citizens of the United States and of our several States, we will give all the assistance in our power to the adoption of the Constitutional amendment.

Resolved, That while we may and do regard impartial suffrage as necessary to the most perfect form of republican government in each

State, we are opposed to making before the people any new *general* issue other than that proposed by Congress.

Resolved, That our great object in coming here was to encourage our Northern friends in the noble cause they are pursuing, and to call upon them to return members to the next Congress who will continue to uphold the right of *loyal men* in reorganizing and ruling both the recently rebellious States and the whole Government.

Referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

Captain Charles L. Watrous, of Virginia, offered a resolution, as follows:

Whereas, We believe that the safety of the Republic rests on the intelligence of its citizens, therefore be it

Resolved, That it is the deliberate conviction of this Convention that free schools must perform an indispensable work in the regeneration of the South, and ought to be provided for by every State.

Referred.

Mr. George W. Sands, of Maryland, offered the following resolution, which was adopted:

Resolved, That the Convention deeply sympathizes with all nationalities struggling to assert their inalienable rights to self-government, and heartily indorses all legislation looking to the modification of our neutrality laws as may in future prevent their use in the interests of tyranny.

The resolution was referred.

Mr. Patterson, of Tennessee, offered the following:

Resolved, That we sympathize with all nations throughout the world in their exertions to secure civil and religious liberty, and especially at this time with long-oppressed and down-trodden Ireland, in her struggle for a place among the nations of the earth;

And that we recommend such change or modification of our neutrality laws as shall no longer render them the fit instrument for treachery and tyranny.

Referred.

Mr. J. W. Fields, of Mississippi, offered a resolution, which was referred.

Whereas, Notwithstanding there has been great diversity of opinion relative to the source from which the powers contained in the Constitution of the United States have been derived; whether from the people of the United States as constituting one community, or from the people as citizens of the several States; yet, the great and important ends proposed in its preamble, to wit, the national defense, the establishment of justice, &c., is secured by the delegation of powers fully adequate to their accomplishment, and given in perpetuity; for, by the articles of confederation, the Union was made perpetual, and, by the Constitution, made more perfect; that is, all means necessary and proper to enforce

a perfect accomplishment of the ends proposed in its preamble, as well as the powers more specifically designated; for, to construe the powers specially named so as to render them inadequate to the ends proposed, would argue an imbecility of mind and vagueness of purpose inconsistent with the character of any one of the able men who framed that instrument, and would be only worthy of such minds as have, by false construction of its intent and meaning, brought it to the verge of destruction, after having, for more than half a century of violent party agitation, alienated one section from another and depraved the public taste and morality.

Resolved, That though the powers of the Government of the United States are limited and defined, laws, as means to give them practical efficacy, must be both necessary and proper, yet, such powers as are necessary to the existence of the Union must be unlimited, and any power used for such purpose by the law-making branch of Government, must be deemed both necessary and proper.

1. *Resolved*, That whatever difference of opinion may exist relative to the powers granted to the law-making branch of the Government, yet, as the Union has been made perpetual and perfect by conventional enactment, therefore, all laws made to secure this end, without which the Constitution is dead, are both necessary and proper, and, of course, constitutional.

2. *Resolved*, That if the Executive does at any time put barriers or obstructions in the way of giving efficacy to the public will, as expressed by the representatives of the people, it becomes the duty of the lower house of Congress to impeach him, and have the constitutionality of his acts tried by the highest judicial tribunal known to the Constitution, for which purpose it was instituted.

3. *Resolved*, That all citizens of the United States who have withdrawn their allegiance from the Government thereof, and sworn to support the power and authority of another, have lost their citizenship both State and national, and cannot exercise any rights as such until restored by compliance with the naturalization laws, or such other means as the law-making power may dictate.

4. *Resolved*, That loyal citizens resident in the late so-called rebel States, have lost no rights by reason of the rebellious act of their fellow-citizens, however numerous, and, therefore, should be indemnified for the loss of all property taken by the United States for public use.

5. *Resolved*, That the negroes of rebel citizens were forfeited as property, and properly appropriated to humanity and the payment of a debt of national gratitude for services rendered their country during the war; but as loyal citizens have forfeited nothing, and their negroes taken to pay the debts aforesaid, the law-making power should see they are indemnified by that portion of the people who caused the sacrifice, or require all citizens of the United States be equally taxed for that purpose.

6. *Resolved*, That as by the war power of the Government of the United States, all slaves therein have been emancipated and made citizens of the United States, contrary to the decision of the supreme judicial judgment, the power to defend it, in part, may rightfully be granted them by the exercise of the right of suffrage.

7. *Resolved*, That the power aforesaid (contrary to the principles of the peaceful administration of the Constitution) should be exercised in a manner acceptable to the loyal citizens of the late rebellious communities which, whilst it recognizes equality of rights under the law, should withhold law-making power, either direct or indirect, until made qualified by some fixed standard established by loyal citizens of the several States, as is now fixed in the loyal States, or as Congress, under the war-power, may establish.

Mr. Patterson, of Tennessee, offered the following:

Resolved, That if General Grant and Admiral Farragut have indeed abandoned the President on his electioneering tour, they be requested to join this Convention in its loyal journey through the land. [Great applause.]

Referred.

Mr. Peter Negley, of Maryland, offered the following:

Whereas, All proper instrumentalities for the complete success of the principles of the Republican party ought to be praised and made use of, therefore,

Resolved, That one of the most potent influences to secure this will be to induce President Johnson to travel all over the loyal States and make political speeches such as he has lately made at Cleveland, Ohio. [Laughter and applause.]

Referred.

Joseph Gearhart, of the District of Columbia, offered the following:

Resolved, That the will of one man was to have no moral force in the reconstruction of our Union against the dictates of reason.

Referred.

Governor Wm. G. Brownlow, of Tennessee, then offered the following:

Resolved, That the lamented death of that great leader of emancipation, champion of human freedom, Henry Winter Davis, of Maryland, filled the hearts of all Southern loyalists with the profoundest sorrow, and that, led by his brilliant example, we will press onward until loyalty and not treason shall be made respectable all over the republic.

Adopted by acclamation.

Mr. Branscomb, of Missouri, offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That a committee of five be appointed to report upon some plan, if thought advisable, whereby all the members of this Convention, or as many of them as can, shall start from this place, immediately after the adjournment of this Convention, and proceed to St. Louis, Missouri, there to be received by the loyal men of that city, and the route to be the same as the electioneering tour of the President; and that they be instructed to terminate their journey by a visit to the tomb of Abraham Lincoln, to pay that illustrious martyr to liberty the debt of admiration and gratitude due him from the true Union men of the South.

The resolution was adopted, and the Chair appointed the following gentlemen as the Committee:

C. H. Branscomb, of Missouri; Albert Griffin, of Alabama; J. H. Bell, of Texas; A. W. Campbell, of West Virginia; Henry Stockbridge, of Maryland.

The following resolution, on the same subject, was also, on motion of Mr. Davis of Virginia, unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That the following-named gentlemen be added to the committee to visit St. Louis: Hon. John M. Botts, of Virginia, Hon. Thomas J. Durant, of Louisiana; Col. Wm. B. Stokes, of Tennessee, Col. A. J. Hamilton, of Texas, and Hon. Francis Thomas, of Maryland.

Mr. McKellip, of Maryland, offered the following resolution:

Whereas, The President has described "Congress as a body hanging upon the verge of the Government," and whereas the State of Vermont has just expressed its opinion at the ballot-box to continue to hang on that side, therefore, be it

Resolved, That we hereby tender the thanks of this Convention to the loyal men of the State of Vermont for the overwhelming manner with which they have rebuked this Presidential sentiment.

Adopted.

Mr. Robinson, of Florida, offered the following:

Resolved, That the Union men of the State of Florida are to-day in a condition of complete subjection to rebels, and our situation deplorable indeed, that negro suffrage would give us a controlling influence in that State.

Referred.

Colonel Charles E. Moss, of Missouri, then offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That the Committee on Resolutions be instructed to prepare a report and resolution favoring the conferring of the right of suffrage upon all citizens, without regard to race or color.

Colonel Moss then proceeded to address the Convention as follows:

SPEECH OF MR. MOSS.

Mr. Chairman, the interval which will elapse before the report of the Committee on Resolutions shall be made I propose to consume in the discussion of a principle which must be considered. There can be no doubt it will be presented in some shape before this body, and I hope it will be adopted, at least so far as it affects the States lately in rebellion. It does seem to me that we have arrived at that stage in the history of our country when we should rise above all prejudices, and that we should carry out in full that noble policy which was inaugurated by the lamented Lincoln. The war just concluded effectually blotted out Slavery from our institutions, and it now lies with us to remove every vestige from the States after destroying it. It is with that idea, in order that we can place ourselves right and found our institutions upon justice and upon those principles which were laid down in the glorious Declaration adopted in this city in 1776, that I have offered this resolution. The enforcement of these laws of eternal justice will protect every loyal man, be he white or black, and the life of the nation, Mr. President, depends to-day upon Congress conferring the rights of citizenship upon all loyal men; and I would ask, further, what greater punishment can be inflicted upon Jefferson Davis and all the host of the Rebellion than by enfranchising and placing the right of suffrage in the hands of those men whom they held in servitude, in bondage, and for which they provoked a Rebellion unparalleled in all history? I say we should give these men the privilege of determining their own lot. I would rejoice to see the loyal men of the country clothed with power to protect themselves, and to ensure the perpetuity of the American Union. It is for us, sir, to say whether or not by a majority of votes this justice should be decreed to them. Not only that; there is another view to be taken. I know we are beset here with the fears of some people; but I think we can demonstrate before we go away that we are not going to hurt any of our Northern friends in the pending elections, neither in the Northern or Border States, by adopting a policy distasteful to them. We are to labor in the rehabilitation and reconstruction of States so as to render them proper for admission to the United States Congress. We must endeavor to send men to Washington not of the character of the man who became President, but of the loyal men who are now sitting in council. I assert here to-day that no State is ready for full power and immunity in the American Union where 5,000, 10,000 or 15,000 voters are in a situation to rule three times their number, where they can exercise with impunity the lowest passions in the human breast upon the consecrated heads of loyal men. The terrible blunders in the reconstruction of the States for the past years should teach us that fear is to be entertained from that power which now prevails in the South. But with

suffrage extended to the freedmen of the South, they can preserve the liberties of the white men as well as their own. I take it that we are not prepared to stand here to-day and say that we are going to indorse the legality of Andrew Johnson's provisional governments in the States. I ask you, friends, is that what you came here for? I think not. But, I am sure, if Congress does its duty next winter, they can provide laws by which provisional Governments can be formed and by which those men who contributed their strength in restoring the Union shall be enfranchised, and be permitted to vote, and elect members to their conventions. They will assemble and adopt a Constitution, elect a Legislature, and instead of being compelled to trust to two-thirds majority in the North, 50 or 80 representatives will be sent up from the South, sterling men who are true as steel, and 20 Senators, to swell the Republican strength. Ask those men who are anxious to preserve power in the Government, if that is not the true policy. I maintain, sir, we should indorse it, and say to our Northern friends that there shall be no reconstruction until that principle is adopted. They are determined now that the eternal rules of justice shall prevail in all the States, and that the people of the South shall be placed in a condition in which they can be trusted. We do not come up here with the idea that admission into the Congress is the first great step to be taken, and a thing to be looked to above all other things. The loyal men of the South, it must be remembered, were driven from their homes, their lives were in peril, they cannot now live there, they have a tyrannical government. They are in the midst of men entertaining a devilish hate and a fiendish malice toward them, who would grind them down to degradation, banish them from society and exclude them from all political power. If they succeed in their purposes, the loyal men will be compelled to leave their homes and seek shelter in other States. Let us by all means not fail to do our duty in this matter. Let us view the subject in all its bearings, and present it earnestly, forcibly, and candidly before the people of the country. Thus may we be enabled to accomplish a great and lasting good. This is what we came here for. It was clearly set forth in the call as our only remedy, and as the salvation of the people. Is there a man here who ever conversed with a refugee from the South, but who knows that the universal expression is in favor of a proposition of that kind? I am yet to find a loyal man from those States who has not declared time and again that that is their only salvation. Now let us look at this in another point of view. I am an American citizen, and I love this Government as firmly as any man can love it. I love its honor, its institutions. I love its freedom, and I feel that it is guilty of injustice if it stains its fair fame and honor, and we will all have to pay the direful penalty. Take our history up to the present, as it stands to-day. We see that a terrible trial visited this country, and that

300,000 black men were induced to present their bodies as a part of the bulwark to our liberties. They poured out their blood in the contest. They manifested a patriotism as lofty and unselfish as can be conceived, and when we consider the white man has enjoyed all the immunities and the full protection of the Government, that they enjoyed all the favored blessings it could bestow, seems to rise higher in the scale of patriots. For many years they have been under the heel of a master, and kept in a state of servitude; with the officers of the law pursuing and hunting them down, and dragging them back into slavery. All the acquaintance they had with the Government was in feeling its power to retain them in it. But when the contest came they rallied around the flag, they guided the lost soldier from the swamp, and assisted him in escaping from the prisons of the South. They have fed our men in the hour of hunger, and displayed in a thousand ways the purest of patriotism. Is it now to be permitted that these men, so true in a contest so bitter, shall be trampled upon and cruelly treated by the enemies of our Union, while we can interpose the ægis of justice? If this is neglected, we will be guilty of a foul injustice that we ought to be ashamed of. I want to know if our friends here are not prepared to throw off a little bit of prejudice, if they have any? I know many of them have an idea that there may be some terrible consequences to result from this bugbear of negro suffrage that they talk about. I stand up here as a representative of the white race, and say that I believe we are their superiors. I do not believe they can hurt us, and the idea that we should have laws placed upon our statute books saying that they shall not make an equal race in life with us, I say is ridiculous and an insult to the white people. The negro's instincts have been a great deal better than the white man's. Why, sir, I cannot find any negro to believe that Andrew Johnson is an angel of light. If they had a negro Convention, they would never have that man on the ticket. They always believed that he was false, and I have it from the best authority that they always doubted his honesty and integrity. The white man, not as wise as the ignorant black man, took him up and elevated him to the office—to his office—as I have said before, not by the grace of God, but by the grace of assassination. He is to-day President, and rules the nation. The best policy that can be adopted by our friends, North and South, is to stand boldly and squarely up for principle. You can talk about the loss of a few votes, and the effect upon the elections or that sort of thing as you will, but I tell you when you come up boldly, and fairly adopt the principles of the Declaration of Independence, then you will find that that policy will be adopted all over the South as well. Look at it. I assert here that nearly every candidate for Congress, who walked boldly up and took this position, is returned by a majority of thousands, while those who were weak-kneed were elected barely

“by the skin of their teeth.” Take the policy of the reconstructed States. Virginia was reconstructed under very favorable circumstances but a short time ago, and no parchment laws could have disfranchised them more thoroughly. They had a small number of white people to stand by and execute the laws and a large number of black men that they did not allow to help them to execute the laws, and a large majority of white men that would not allow them to execute them. By and by they will find their liberties in the hands of the disloyal, and that the loyal men cannot be elected. If they had given the black men the ballot, they, and a small number of white men, could have aided in the enforcement of the law, and to-day you would have had loyal men in the Government, and probably my friend in the chair (Mr. Botts) might have been in Congress instead of those that we now see attempting to gain admission. There is not one single motive of expediency but what says to you, “Gentlemen, you must do justice; you must honor your flag; you must keep untarnished the honor and morality of your Government;” and I take it that this Government was formed to establish justice and to secure the blessings of liberty. This is not a question whether our colored friends shall vote; but it is a question [The remainder of the sentence was drowned by loud cheering for General Butler, who at that moment walked up the hall and took a seat on the dais]. Mr. Chairman, here is the strongest practical illustration of the question which occupies the hearts of the people; there stands old Ben Butler. We know that it is not to Benjamin F. Butler as a man, but it is because he stands here representing that principle of loyalty and universal freedom which I am advocating before you now. I tell our friends here that if, in this Presidential campaign, they follow up our traitorous Chief Magistrate, they will find a reception all over the North and West such as they never yet conceived of. Our Western friends chose leaders that understand this question; and the poor, honest soldier, who is not looking for a Senatorship or for seats as members of Congress, but for the good of the nation, and who desires to see to it that we shall not be again called to the field, goes for this very principle. They know it is necessary for our peace, and our friends in the North I know will welcome you if you adopt it. I have no fears for the result of this great question. We only place it as a rule of reconstruction for the rebellious States. I do not believe our noble Senators and Representatives that I see around me in this house, are prepared to come up and tell you and me that they are ever going to recognize Andrew Johnson's Provisional Government. If they do, they will raise such a storm of indignation that Andrew Johnson will wish that he had never been born. [Applause.] They have got too far to be betrayed in this manner, and the lessons of six or eight years back have been such that they will repudiate this temporizing policy. They are

accustomed to strong meat, and they require it for their safety and their peace. Be bold and fearless, and I know the Northern people well enough to be able to say that they will stand by you. [Applause.] They will see that you get what you ask. Come up squarely. Look at the effect of the temporizing policy that is now coming on. I ask every man to bear witness that in three years, if this policy is carried on, we will have a war of races as the results of the acts of these rebellious Southerners so constantly committed in various sections of the country. You cannot arm three or four hundred thousand men against a community and then turn them loose in that community and expect to find them favorably received. The negro is a docile man. He loves peace and quiet; he loves to live quietly and contentedly. He is naturally more industrious, at least, than our miserable Rebels that want to trample his rights under their feet. If they let him alone he will be a good citizen, and do more to develop the South than all the Rebels that ever lived. I tell you, further, that if you do not take some such course to enable him to protect himself he will take the matter into his own hand, and God pity the Rebels when that day comes! You may help the President in his efforts to assist Rebel white men, but we will never submit to be made instruments to crush out a class of men whose only fault is that they have been too faithful. How long would it take, with a few more examples besides New Orleans—how easy it would be, to see the whole South in a flame? and, then, how are we to stop it? And yet that is the price you have got to pay for it. I have heard a great deal about the effect it would have upon the Republican party in case we should do certain things. We have thousands of men who are determined to be trifled with no longer; who have fought on our side and now desire to fight with us. If we refuse this, it will be said that the Republican party was afraid, and Andrew Johnson will say they they dare not do what they came here to do. [Applause.] If, when your call professes to favor the equality of all men before the law, you go home yielding to outside pressure, Mr. Johnson can justly say that you are "poor whites," and dare not say what you want, and he will have good reason to say so. Let us see what this Congressional policy is. You are not to let a Rebel or two sit in Congress; that is all. It will not affect the non-reconstructed States at all; but it leaves yourselves and your families in the hands of the wickedest traitors, and if you accede to that policy I would ask you how you are going to avoid it? These are the considerations that we offer to you and to the men of the North. We ask you if you are prepared to sustain it? I tell you that every just and good man can stand upon this platform, and he need never be ashamed of it. [Applause.] Men came up here to say, "We are in favor of the principle, but for God's sake don't speak it out." Do you believe you will receive a single voter by having it out who would vote with you with-

out it? I do not believe the people are prepared to say that they will desert loyalty, truth, union, justice and freedom merely because they are afraid the black man will have absolute and perfect justice done him. [Applause.] I do not believe you would affect a single election in the North by means of it; and I am not so certain that you would not lose a great many if you do not adopt it. [Applause.] The day of compromises has passed away; the day has passed away when our people would take up candidates for the Presidency on that ground. No man will get the confidence of the people that has not got nerve and backbone; and I tell you, gentlemen, they will stand up to the occasion.

On motion, the resolution offered by Mr. Moss, of Missouri, was referred to the Committee on Resolutions.

An invitation from the Union League of Philadelphia, was read and accepted, extended to all the members to participate in a grand banquet at 6 P. M. (this evening), at the Union League House.

Mr. Smithers, of Delaware, from the Committee appointed to meet the Committee of the Northern delegation, reported that upon conference it had been agreed that the Convention should meet at 7½ o'clock this evening and proceed to Union League Hall, there to meet in Mass assemblage and fuse with the Northern delegation. [Applause.]

He also reported that it was understood that upon arriving there the Loyal League of Philadelphia, would appoint a presiding officer for both bodies, the officers of the respective bodies acting under his supervision. [Applause.]

The report was unanimously adopted, and the Convention then adjourned until to-morrow morning at 10 o'clock.

Fourth Day.

Philadelphia, Sept. 6, 1866.

The Convention met in National Hall at 10½ o'clock A. M. Prayer was offered by the Rev. Dr. Bedell.

Gen. John H. Hammond, Chairman of the Committee of five appointed by the Chair to respond to the resolutions of welcome presented by the Hon. Morton McMichael, Mayor of Philadelphia, on behalf of the municipal authorities, which resolutions recognize the sacrifices made and sufferings endured by the Union men of the South in behalf of Liberty and the Union, and which extend to the Convention a most cordial welcome and the hospitalities of the city, reported the following as the response of the Committee.

Resolved, That the sentiments uttered in the preamble are honorable and patriotic in the highest degree, manifesting alike unflinching loyalty and unbounded devotion to the glorious cause for which Philadelphia has done so much and with which she is so completely identified; that the resolutions of welcome are worthy of this great city and generous people, and that no higher

praise can be accorded to a city and people that during five years of war poured forth millions of treasure and offered up thousands of their bravest and truest sons in the great cause of constitutional liberty, and who now, with open hands and hearts, have accorded to the loyal men of the South a glorious reception and hospitality, conferring honor alike on the givers and receivers.

Resolved, That the delegates to the Convention of Southern Unionists, for the loyal people of the South and for themselves, with one voice assure the Mayor and Council, and through them the loyal citizens of Philadelphia, of their deep and heartfelt gratitude now, and their good will and high esteem in all time to come.

All of which is respectfully submitted.

JOHN H. HAMMOND,

Chairman of the Committee.

Members of the Committee present:

A. L. HILL, *Virginia*,

HENRY R. TORBERT, *Maryland*,

LORENZO SHERWOOD, *Texas*.

The following dispatch was then read by the Secretary:

Syracuse, N. Y., Sept. 5, 1866.

To Hon. JAMES SPEED, President of Convention at Philadelphia:

By resolution of the Republican Union State Convention, of the State of New York, now in session at Syracuse, I am directed to send greeting to the loyal men of the South now in convention at Philadelphia and to assure them that the great heart of the people of New York beats in sympathy for them in their new and increased persecution by the substitution of the policy of Johnson for the despotism of Davis. New York was never more determined than now in the complete overthrow of the rebellion and its cause and sympathizers, come whence and from where they may. A union against dangers in the past produces a more lively appreciation of your present trial. You faltered not in your devotion to your country when the dungeon and the gallows stared you in the face, and the loyal people will never desert your cause until justice is vindicated and the freedom bought by blood shall be permanently established in the Constitution.

C. H. VAN WYCK,

Tem. Ch'n Union State Convention.

The Secretary read the following address from the Wisconsin delegation:

*Continental Hotel, Philadelphia,)
Sept. 5, 1866.)*

To the Hon. JAMES SPEED, President of the Southern Loyalists' Convention:

Dear Sir: The Wisconsin delegation, composed of and representing men who aided in electing and supporting President Lincoln, and sustained the war for the suppression of the Rebellion, and who now most cordially approve of the measures adopted by Congress for the restoration of the

Union upon the solid, safe, and enduring basis of impartial justice to men of every origin, creed and condition, desire to convey to the loyal and patriotic men of the South, now honorably represented in the Convention, over whose deliberations you have the honor to preside, the assurance of the respect, confidence, and sympathy of the patriotic masses of Wisconsin, who will omit no opportunity to vindicate and further the holy cause of human freedom which has been so nobly maintained by their gallant and loyal brethren of the Southern States. Be assured that the State of Wisconsin will, in peace as in war, be found among the most devoted and faithful defenders of free institutions, the blessings of which should be guaranteed, beyond a peradventure, to all loyal citizens of this Republic of free-men.

We have the honor to be, dear Sir, with great respect, your obedient servants,

LUCIUS FAIRCHILD, *Chairman*.

CHARLES SEYMOUR, *Secretary*.

Dr. R. O. Sidney, of Mississippi, offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That a Committee of five on finance be appointed, to make arrangements for meeting the contingent expenses of the Convention. Adopted.

The Chairman then announced that the following named gentlemen had been appointed as the Committee on Finance: Messrs. Dr. R. O. Sidney, Mississippi; John P. Camp, Missouri; Thomas Hornbrook, West Virginia; Gail Borden, Texas; and R. T. Butler, Tennessee.

Mr. Bingham, of Alabama, offered the following:

Whereas, It is alleged that the United States Treasury has been defrauded out of large sums of money, amounting to hundreds of millions of dollars, by agents appointed by the Secretary to collect Confederate cotton and abandoned property in the late rebel States *and whereas*, the proof can be made that the said Secretary was advised, on more occasions than one, that these frauds were being perpetrated upon this government; therefore,

Resolved, That Congress should, by joint committee or otherwise, thoroughly investigate these frauds, and fix the responsibility where it belongs, that the people of the United States may know whether they have proceeded from a dereliction of official duty in the head of the Treasury Department, or from the infidelity and dishonesty of treasury cotton agents, selected in many cases from officers in the rebel army and rebel citizens, to the exclusion of Union men.

Governor Boreman, of West Virginia.—Mr. President, this Convention does not know positively anything about the facts in that preamble. I move its reference to the Committee on Resolutions.

The motion was agreed to, and the resolution referred.

Mr. Creswell, of Md., Chairman of the Committee appointed to draft an address, announced that the Committee was ready to report, and read the following:

Appeal of the Loyal Men of the South to their Fellow-Citizens of the United States.

The representatives of 8,000,000 of American citizens appeal for protection and justice to their friends and brothers in the States that have been spared the cruelties of the Rebellion and the direct horrors of civil war. Here, on the spot where Freedom was proffered and pledged by the Fathers of the Republic, we implore your help against a reorganized oppression, whose sole object is to remit the control of our destinies to the contrivers of the Rebellion after they have been vanquished in honorable battle; thus at once to punish us for our devotion to our country, and to intrench themselves in the official fortifications of the Government.

Others have related the thrilling story of our wrongs from reading and observation. We come before you as unchallenged witnesses, and speak from personal knowledge our sad experience. If you fail us, we are more utterly deserted and betrayed than if the contest had been decided against us; for, in that case even victorious Slavery would have found profit in the speedy pardon of those who had been among its bravest foes. Unexpected perfidy in the highest place in the Government, accidentally filled by one who adds cruelty to ingratitude, and forgives the guilty as he proscribes the innocent, has stimulated the almost extinguished revenge of the beaten conspirators, and now the Rebels, who offered to yield everything to save their own lives, are seeking to consign us to bloody graves. Where we expected a benefactor, we find a persecutor.

Having lost our champion, we return to you who can make Presidents and punish traitors. Our last hope, under God, is in the unity and firmness of the States that elected Abraham Lincoln and defeated Jefferson Davis. The best statement of our case is the appalling yet unconscious confession of Andrew Johnson, who, in savage hatred of his own record, proclaims his purpose to clothe four millions of traitors with the power to impoverish and degrade eight millions of loyal men.

Our wrongs bear alike on all races, and our tyrants, unchecked by you, will award the same fate to white and black. We can remain as we are only as inferiors and victims. We may fly from our homes, but we should fear to trust our fate with those who, after denouncing and defeating treason, refuse to right those who have bravely assisted them in the good work. Till we are wholly rescued, there is neither peace for you, nor prosperity for us.

We cannot better define at once our wrongs and our wants than by declaring that since Andrew Johnson affiliated with his early slanderers and our constant enemies, his hand has been laid heavily upon every earnest loyalist in

the South. History, the just judgment of the present, and the certain confirmation of the future, invite and command us to declare:

That, after neglecting his own remedies for restoring the Union, he has resorted to the weapons of traitors to bruise and beat down patriots;

That, after declaring that none but the loyal should govern the reconstructed South, he has practised upon the maxim that none but traitors shall rule;

That, while in the North he has removed conscientious men from office, and filled many of the vacancies with the sympathizers of treason, in the South he has removed the proved and trusted patriot and selected the unqualified and convicted traitor;

That, after brave men, who had fought for the old flag, have been nominated for positions, their names have been recalled, and avowed Rebels substituted;

That every original Unionist in the South, who stands fast to Andrew Johnson's covenants, from 1861 to 1865, has been ostracised;

That he has corrupted the local courts by offering premiums for the defiance of the laws of Congress, and by openly discouraging the observance of the oath against treason;

That, while refusing to punish one single conspicuous traitor, though thousands had earned the penalty of death, more than a thousand of devoted Union citizens have been murdered in cold blood since the surrender of Lee, and in no case have their assassins been brought to judgment;

That he has pardoned some of the worst of the Rebel criminals North and South, including some who have taken human life under circumstances of unparalleled atrocity;

That, while denouncing and fettering the operations of the Freedmen's Bureau, he, with a full knowledge of the falsehood, has charged that the black men are lazy and rebellious, and has concealed the fact that more whites than blacks have been protected and fed by that noble organization, and that while declaring that it was corruptly managed and expensive to the Government, he has connived at a system of profligacy in the use of the public patronage and public money wholly without parallel, save when the traitors bankrupted the Treasury, and sought to disorganize and scatter the army and the money only to make it more easy to capture the Government;

That, while declaring against the injustice of leaving eleven States unrepresented, he has refused to authorize the liberal plan of Congress, simply because it recognizes the loyal majority and refuses to perpetuate the traitor minority;

That in every State south of Mason and Dixon's line his "policy" has wrought the most deplorable consequences—social, moral, and political. It has emboldened returned Rebels to threaten civil war in Maryland, Missouri, West Virginia, and Tennessee, unless the patriots who saved and sealed these States to the old flag surrender

before their arrogant demands. It has corrupted high State officials, elected by Union men and sworn to enforce the laws against returned Rebels, and made them the mere instruments of the author of the Rebellion. It has encouraged a new alienation between the sections, and by impeding emigration to the South, has erected a formidable barrier against free and friendly intercourse in the North and West. It has allowed the Rebel soldiery to persecute the teachers of the colored schools, and to burn the churches in which the freedmen have worshipped the living God. That a system so barbarous should have culminated in the frightful riot at Memphis, and the still more appalling massacre at New Orleans, was as natural as that a bloody war should flow from the teachings of John C. Calhoun and Jefferson Davis. Andrew Johnson is responsible for all these unspeakable cruelties, and as he provoked so he justifies and applauds them. Sending his agents and emissaries into this refined and patriotic metropolis, to insist upon making his reckless policy a test upon a Christian people, he forgot that the protection extended to the 14th of August Convention in Philadelphia was not only denied to the free people of New Orleans on the 30th of July, when they assembled to discuss how best to protect themselves, but denied amid the slaughter of hundreds of innocent men. No page in the record of his recent outrages upon human justice and constitutional law is more revolting than that which convicts him of refusing to arrest the preparations for that savage carnival, and not only of refusing to punish its authors, but of toiling to throw the guilty responsibility upon unoffending and innocent freedmen. The infatuated tyrant that stood ready to crush his own people, in Tennessee, when they were struggling to maintain a Government erected by himself, against his and other traitors' persecutions, was even more eager to illustrate his savage policy, by clothing with the most despotic power the rioters of New Orleans. Notwithstanding this heartless desertion and cruel persecution by Andrew Johnson, the States of Missouri, Kentucky, Tennessee, Western Virginia, Maryland, and Delaware, imbued with Democratic-Republican principles—principles which the Fathers of the Republic designed for all America—are now making determined battle with the enemies of free Constitutional Government, and, by the blessing of God, these States will soon range themselves in line with the former free States, and illustrate the wisdom and beneficence of the great Charter of American Liberty by their increasing population, wealth, and prosperity in the remaining ten States. The seeds of oligarchy, planted in the Constitution by its slavery feature, have grown to be a monstrous power, whose recognition thus wrung from the reluctant framers of that great instrument enabled these States to entrench themselves behind the perverted doctrine of States rights, and sheltered by a claim of Constitutional obligation to maintain Slavery in the States to present to the American Government

the alternatives of oligarchy with slavery, or Democratic-Republican governments without slavery. A forbearing Government bowing to a supposed constitutional behest, acquiesced in the former alternative. The hand of the Government was stayed for eighty years. The principles of constitutional liberty languished for want of Government support. Oligarchy matured its power with subtle design. Its history for eighty years is replete with unparalleled injuries and usurpations: it developed only the agricultural localities, geographically distinct from the free-labor localities, and less than one-third of the whole, with African slaves. It had 4,000,000 of human beings as chattels, yet made them the basis of unjust power for themselves in Federal and State Governments. To maintain their enslavement, it excluded millions of free white laborers from the richest agricultural lands of the world, forced them to remain inactive and unproductive on the mineral, manufacturing, and lumber localities, comprising two-thirds of the whole South in square miles and real undeveloped wealth, simply because the localities were agriculturally too poor for slave labor, and condemned them to agriculture on this unagricultural territory, and consigned them to unwilling ignorance and poverty by denying capital and strangling enterprise. It repelled the capital, energy, will, and skill of the Free States from the free-labor localities, by unmitigated intolerance and proscription—thus guarding the approaches to their slave domain against democracy. Statute books groaned under despotic laws against unlawful and insurrectionary assemblies, aimed at the constitutional guaranties of the right to peaceably assemble and petition for a redress of grievances. It proscribed democratic literature as incendiary, nullified constitutional guaranties of freedom and free speech and a free press. It deprived citizens of the other States of their privileges and immunities in the States—an injury and usurpation alike unjust to Northern citizens and destructive of the best interests of the States themselves. Alarmed at the progress of democracy in the face of every discouragement, at last it sought immunity by secession and war. The heart sickens with contemplation of the four years that followed, forced loans, impressments, conscriptions with bloody hands and bayonets; the murder of aged Union men who had long laid aside the implements of labor, but had been summoned anew to the field by the conscription of their sons to support their children and grandchildren, reduced from comfort to the verge of starvation; the slaughter of noble youths; types of physical manhood forced into an unholy war against those with whom they were identified by every interest; long months of incarceration in Rebel bastiles; banishment from homes and hearthstones, are but a partial recital of the long catalogue of horrors. But Democrats North and South combined defeated them. They lost. What did they lose? The cause of oligarchy? They lost African Slavery

by name only. Soon as the tocsin of war ceased, soon as the clang of arms was hushed, they raise the cry of immediate admission, and with that watchword seek to organize under new forms a contest to perpetuate their unbridled sway. They rehabilitate with their sweeping control of all local and State organizations. The Federal Executive, easily seduced, yields a willing obedience to his old masters; aided by his unscrupulous disregard of Constitution and laws, by his merciless proscription of true democratic opinion, and by all his appliances of despotic power, they now defiantly enter the lists in the loyal North, and seek to wring from freemen an indorsement of their wicked designs. Every foul agency is at work to accomplish this result. Falsely professing to assent to the abolition of slavery, they are contriving to continue its detestable power by legislative acts against pretended vagrants; they know that any form of servitude will answer their unholy purpose. They pronounce the four years' war a brilliant sword scene in the great revolutionary drama. Proscriptive public sentiment holds high carnival, and profiting by the exertions of the Presidential pilgrim, breathes out threatenings of slaughter against loyalty, ignores and denounces all legal restraints, and assails with the tongue of malignant slander the constitutionally chosen representatives of the people. To still the voice of Liberty, dangerous alone to tyrants, midnight conflagrations, assassinations, and murders in open day are called to their aid; a reign of terror through all these ten States makes loyalty stand silent in the presence of treason, or whisper with bated breath. Strong men hesitate openly to speak for liberty, and decline to attend a Convention at Philadelphia for fear of destruction. But all Southern men are not yet awed into submission to treason, and we have assembled from all these States determined that liberty when endangered shall find a mouth-piece, and that the Government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth. We are here to consult together how best to provide for a union of truly Republican States, to seek to resume 35 stars to the old flag. We are here to see that 10 of these stars, opaque bodies paling their ineffectual fires beneath the gloom of darkness, of oligarchical tyranny and oppression. We wish them to be brilliant stars, emblems of constitutional liberty, glittering orbs sparkling with the life-giving principles of the model Republic, fitting ornaments of the glorious banner of freedom. Our last and only hope is in the unity and fortitude of the loyal people of America in the support and vindication of the XXXIXth Congress, and the election of a controlling Union majority in the succeeding or XLth Congress. While the article amending the National Constitution offers the most liberal conditions to the authors of the Rebellion, and does not come up to the measure of our expectations, we believe its ratification would be the commencement of a complete and lasting protection to all our people; and, therefore, we accept it as the best present remedy, and appeal to our

brothers and friends in the North and the West to make it their watchword in the coming elections. The tokens are auspicious of overwhelming success. However little the verdict of the ballot-box may affect the reckless man in the Presidential chair, we cannot doubt that the traitors and sympathizers will recognize that verdict as the surest indication that the mighty power which crushed the Rebellion is still alive, and that those who attempt to oppose or defy it will do so at the risk of their own destruction. Our confidence in the overruling providence of God prompts the prediction and intensifies the belief that when this warning is sufficiently taught to these misguided and reckless men, the liberated millions of the rebellious South will be proffered those rights and franchises which may be necessary to adjust and settle this mighty controversy in the spirit of the most enlarged and Christian philanthropy.

GEORGE W. PASCHAL, of Texas,
Chairman.

R. O. SIDNEY, of Mississippi.
JOHN H. ATKINSON, of West Virginia.
JOHN A. ALLDERDICE, of Delaware.
A. W. HAWKINS, of Tennessee.
SAMUEL KNOX, of Missouri.
WRIGHT R. FISH, of Louisiana.
MILTON J. SAFFOLD, of Alabama.
PHILIP WAZE, of Florida.
D. R. GOODLOE, of North Carolina.
D. C. FORNEY, of District of Columbia.
JOHN A. J. CRESWELL, of Maryland.
G. W. ASHBURN, of Georgia.

J. Minor Botts (Va.)—Mr. President: I rise to say that the address just read receives my most cordial approval. There is but a single line to which, in my opinion, any objection can be taken. To leave it out will not impair the force of the address, while its appearance in it, I think, will be liable to misinterpretation. I regard it as the most grave indictment that has ever been brought by any grand jury in the country, and its severity consists in its truth. I have simply risen for the purpose of moving its unanimous adoption by this Convention. In doing so, however, I desire to point out the line by which I make objection, and which, I think, should be omitted. It is this, "That the Southern States have proscribed Democratic literature as incendiary," while, in my opinion, Democratic literature, on the contrary, is the only literature they have tolerated. I hope there will be no objection made by any member of the Convention to leaving that single line out, and then adopting the balance of the address.

The Hon. A. J. Hamilton (Texas).—Mr. President, the Committee on Resolutions beg leave to make a report.

The President.—There is a motion pending.

Mr. Tucker, of Virginia.—Mr. President: I rise to move that the action of this Convention on the adoption of this address be postponed until to-morrow morning. [Cries of "No,"

"No," "No.,"] In the mean time, I move that it be printed, so that I can have an opportunity to study it, as the gentleman has had who rose and stated that there was but a single line in it to which he objected. No man or set of men can act intelligently upon a document of that kind, which is to go forth to the public of this country, without having examined it, and I will not commit myself to any such paper under such circumstances. I do not choose to be led here by cheers or anything else. I do not come up here to be treated as were the men who came here from certain States a few days ago. Mr. President: We did not come up here solely to inform the country and the world that Andrew Johnson is a traitor and usurper—the world knew it. We have something else that we want to say to the country and the world, and I want an opportunity as well as the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. Botts], who had a chance to examine the document, before I vote upon it.

Address proposed by the delegates from the Unreconstructed States as a substitute for the one reported by the Committee.

Mr. Sherwood (Texas).—I rise, Sir, for the purpose of commending every sentiment that has been put forth in this address of the Committee. No man in this Convention can express a higher estimate of the merits of that address than myself. I have considered every word of it so far as it has gone. There is one assumption put forth in that report which I now wish to bring to the attention of this Convention. It is this: that there are 8,000,000 of men in the South who are loyal. I ask the Convention to note that statement. I agree with the address, but I go further. If you extend protection over the people of the South, there will be 10,000,000 out of the 12,000,000 who are loyal [applause]—loyal to the Constitution of the United States. While it is assumed in this address that there are 8,000,000 out of the 12,000,000 in the South who are loyal, who have all the natural motives to be loyal, and who have come up here to express their loyalty, I hope that they will not be shackled by their condition, either of color or caste. [Applause.] Now, Mr. President, while I indorse every sentiment of that address, I rise for the purpose of offering a substitute, not that I disagree with anything in it, but because it is like the Hibernian blanket, of most excellent quality, but a little too short at both ends. I will now proceed to read what I offer as a substitute for that most excellent address, and suggest that the address which has been read should be printed and circulated through the land. With the exception I have stated, I have no earthly objection to it otherwise than that it does not cover the whole case. [Applause. Cries of "Go on the stand." "Read it from the stand."]

Mr. Sherwood then took the stand and read a long address, setting forth the wants and rights of the people of the Cotton States.

THE CONVENTION OF SOUTHERN UNIONISTS TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES:

The Unionists of the South, in presenting a Platform, have endeavored to avoid all things that might excite cavil, or affect the sensibilities of any lover of Free Government. We stand on the constitutional rights of the citizen; those rights specified and enumerated in the great charter of American Liberty, in the following form—

"Security to Life, Person, and Property. Freedom of the Press; Freedom of Opinion; and Freedom in the Exercise of Religion. Fair and impartial Trial by Jury under such regulations as to make the administration of justice complete. Unobstructed commerce between the States, and the right of the citizens of each State to pass into and sojourn in any other State, and to enjoy the immunities and privileges of the citizens of such other State. Exemption from any order of nobility or government through privileged class; The guaranty of Republican Government to every State and to all the People thereof, making the preservation and maintenance of the above enumerated rights, unless forfeited by crime, the constitutional test and definition of what is Republican Government."

These natural, cardinal, fundamental rights of the citizen were established in political form by the Constitution of the United States. Their preservation was declared by our Fathers, to be "the paramount object in the institution of Government;" with the further declaration, that "when government becomes subversive of these rights, it is the duty of the people to alter or modify such government." The practical vindication of these rights, personal and political, has become the Platform of the Unionists of the South. We cannot mistake, in our assumption, that their preservation in the broadest and most liberal sense, is the only practical basis on which national dissensions can possibly be healed, or permanent peace established.

In some of the States these rights have been substantially, even liberally maintained. In others they have been but partially preserved. In proportion as they have been justly regarded in the respective States, have the People remained socially and politically contented; invited population; achieved material prosperity; accumulated wealth; and advanced the cause of education and popular intelligence. In such proportion as they have been transgressed, political and social discontent have prevailed; population repelled; enterprise paralyzed; material prosperity retarded; the cause of popular education and intelligence impeded, and the condition of the masses degraded. In proportion as the people of the different States have looked at their government framed through the medium of these rights, with an eye careful to their preservation, have they manifested attachment to Republican government; taken pride in the idea of a great nationality; been appreciative of the wisdom of their

Fathers, and firm in maintaining what their Fathers established. In such degree as the people of the respective States have failed to comprehend the true theory of government, based on the preservation of these rights, have they manifested political perversity; abjured the Republican principle; became seditious; and as a sequence of such degeneracy, inflicted distresses on the nation through political crime to which history scarcely affords a parallel. It is under this condition of the antagonistic forces of the Union, still continuing, that the Unionists of the South, WHITE AND BLACK, in the struggle for political existence in connection with the preservation of these rights, now take the appeal to the power of the nation against local despotism.

DECLARATION OF WAR AGAINST REBEL IDEAS.

Against the political ideas of the rebellion, we declare unceasing war. It needs only an epitome of the secession program, as advocated in the political literature and journals of the rebels during the war, to exhibit its full-blown atrocity. It was assumed by the rebellion during the war, that "*democracy, in its philosophic sense, was incompatible with slavery and the whole system of Southern society*;" that "*Republican government was a failure*;" that "*the real civilization of a country was in its aristocracy, which should be made permanent by laws of entail and primogeniture*;" that "*a government of majorities must be abrogated*;" that "*they should seek at once to eradicate every vestige of radical democracy, every feature tending to make the government of the Confederacy a popular government*;" that "*an hereditary senate and executive were the political form best suited to the genius, and most expressive of the political ideas of the South*;" and finally, that "*they had no objections to royalty when restrained by constitutional barriers*."

These political ideas, destructive of all republican government, in connection with the scheme of making Slavery perpetual, formed the *animus* of the rebellion. The declaration that "Democracy, in its philosophic sense, was incompatible with Slavery," affords the clue to the whole line of argument and reasoning upon which the rebellion was raised up. The apostacy of Alexander H. Stevens, in passing from the principles of the Constitution to the "corner-stone" policy of the traitors, is an exact illustration of the other leading conspirators. They all alike, mentally, consciously, and wickedly, passed through this course of apostacy from republican principle. There was one reason, and one alone, that led to the apostacy: that was, the Constitution and its beneficent principles stood in the way of Slavery perpetuation. In comparison with this, the Constitution was nothing; protective Republican Government nothing; the common political rights of the bulk of the People nothing; for nothing was intended to be acknowledged or tolerated by the conspirators, as political right, that was not made subordinate to the interests of Slavery. The doctrine of "state sovereignty" and its extravagant postulates was raised up as an avail-

able pretext, and hypocritically put forth as the *base-line* in the workings and plottings of incipient treason. No class understood better the protective character and features of the Constitution than the intelligent leaders of secession. They studied it continually. They discussed it in season and out of season: but, they discussed it always in connection with their plottings and contrivances to pervert and overthrow it. No class knew better that there was, and could be, no legitimate State sovereignty in opposition to, or in conflict with the Constitution. No class knew better, when hypocritically urging their theory of "State rights" that every conceivable personal and political right, compatible with republican government, had been provided for and established by this supreme law; and, that no State right could have existence that did not harmonize with the instrument. Neither treason, nor the palliators of treason will be allowed to stultify the understanding of the leading traitors, by finding excuses for them in their hypocritical subterfuge, "State rights," which they merely converted into a lever to work the plans of rebellion. It is essential to the welfare of the nation that the exact motives for the attempt at revolution should be stamped on the history of the war. If republican ideas and constitutional liberty prevail, treason cannot fail to be made odious through the motives that led to the attempt of revolution. Through thirty years of diligent hypocrisy they worked to mislead and debauch the political mind of the South; to cajole and terrorize it into the plans of rebellion; and to train it to the purpose of repudiating republican government in order to make Slavery the "corner stone" of Southern institutions.

FORCE AND HYPOCRISY USED TO EFFECT SECESSION.

When this triple conspiracy against the Constitution, against the nationality, and against the political rights of Southern masses, had matured its preparations, the leaders entered on the execution of the plan for carrying the States out of the Union—not by any calm and dispassionate appeal to the people on the ground of rights invaded, for no rights had been invaded. The ultimate plan of secession was connected with incipient military organization. The active treason carefully secured in advance the arms and munitions in each of the States, and placed them in the hands and under the control of such only as would wield them on the side of rebellion. The States were carried out through force and violence. Notwithstanding the seeming acquiescence of the majority, it was an acquiescence arising from the condition of unarmed helplessness. In addition to force, every deceptive calculation was paraded before the public to show the strength of rebellion. It was confidently stated that negotiations had been matured whereby it was made certain that England and France would intervene in favor of the South in case it was necessary to secure its independence. It was urged that the leaders of

the Democratic party North had bargained with the leaders in the South for peaceable secession; that they had given the pledge that no coercive measures of the general government would be allowed. It was stated and believed that there were sixty thousand men in New York who would take the side of the South and prevent the passage of New England troops across the Hudson. Nothing was left undone to underrate the power of the general government, or to make it appear contemptible on account of the alleged pusillanimity of its supporters. The belief was widely inculcated that the independence of the South was certain. Under this belief, a majority of the Southern people gave in their adhesion to the new government. As is natural for all people, the greater portion sought protection under what they fallaciously supposed to be the side of power. The delusion was kept up by contumacy in the North. The traitors, measuring the political morality of their friends in the North by their own standard, actually believed, and propagated the belief throughout the South, that the North would divide and fight the general government instead of the rebellion. It was thus the rebellion was commenced and the war protracted. Ultimately, the people of the South were fearfully taught the truth, and undeceived as to the power of the contending forces. In time they will become fully advised as to the nature of the conflict. A rebellion that originated on false pretences and lived for a time on its hypocrisy will be analyzed by Southern people when civil liberty is established, and they are made to comprehend the conspiracy against their rights. This is what the conspirators are afraid of. Most of all things they dread to face the Southern masses on the accusation of intent to overthrow republican government. This would make treason odious, for they would stand responsible, with no palliating excuse, for all the evils and bloodshed of the war.

STRENGTH OF REPUBLICAN GOVERNMENT.

The strength of republican government has thus far been vindicated. The rebel apostacy and warfare in the South, encouraged by the apologists of treason in the North, and assisted by the advocates of government through a privileged class in Europe, have not shaken it, nor have they shaken the confidence of its true supporters. It has withstood a shock that would have overturned the strongest dynasty in Europe. It has resisted the whole combination of anti-republican influence, domestic and foreign. The assault upon it has been attended with a rebound that tore the manacles from four million people, who, but yesterday, were slaves. The attack made in the interest of Slavery has changed, and transformed Slavery into citizenship. Thus far it has triumphed. The question is now before us whether it can go steadily on and consummate the great plan of free protective government, whereby every human being within its jurisdiction shall be placed on the platform of equal rights, before the law. As a sequence

of the rebellion, we are to deal with political questions under the political powers of the Government—powers which were provided to meet emergencies of the character now existing. These powers, extraordinary and extreme in their character, have hitherto lain dormant for the reason that no exigency had arisen to call them into requisition. They are what Mr. Madison characterized as “a harmless superfluity in the Constitution in case they should not be needed;” or, in other words, would remain dormant in case rebellion and conspiracy did not call them into exercise.

STATUS OF THE SECEDED STATES AND CONSPIRATORS.

What is now the political condition or *status* of the seceded States; and, where is the power lodged to deal with them? These are questions of vital interest, present and future, to the whole Union. Eleven States, as States, in political form severed themselves from all connection with the Constitution. They established State government, in form, in opposition to it. They formed a confederacy, so called, instituted a confederate government, *de facto*, with administrative, legislative, and judicial departments. They organized an army and navy, instituted prize courts, made captures, condemnations, and were acknowledged by foreign powers as legitimate belligerents. What is of most importance in dealing with the leading conspirators, are the facts, that they voluntarily abjured the Constitution and the Union government, renounced their allegiance, declared themselves alien to it, and swore allegiance to a government at war with the United States. This was the attitude of the seceded States and the conspirators when the result of arms decided a four years' conflict, leaving the confederate and rebel State governments alike demolished, and the people of those States without any civil government whatsoever.

CONSTITUTIONAL PROVISIONS TO MEET EMERGENCIES.

It would have been strange indeed if the penetrative foresight of the framers of the Constitution had failed to provide the power to deal with emergencies of this character. Fortunately, we are not left to eke out a power by inference or implication. We can go directly to the lodgment of this power as prescribed by the Supreme Law. It matters not from what cause or causes the State governments had been broken down. It is sufficient that none existed, and that the States stood in a territorial condition, or something lower still, having no government but military rule. The power to re-institute State governments in these cases is lodged specifically and exclusively in Congress. The Constitution provides that “the United States shall guarantee a republican form of government to every State in the Union. To Congress is confided the power to make all laws necessary

and proper to carry into execution this, as well as all other provisions of the Constitution; with the further provision, that the Constitution and laws made in pursuance thereof shall be the supreme law of the land, and the judges in every State bound thereby, anything in the constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding."

This provision, guaranteeing republican government, has grown, under our emergencies, to be one of its most important requirements. It indicates the wisdom and foresight of the framers in guarding against events or contingencies of a destructive nature. Mr. Madison, in commenting on this provision, says:

"In a confederacy, founded on republican principles, and composed of republican members, the superintending government ought clearly to possess the authority to defend the system against aristocratic or monarchical innovations. But, a right implies a remedy, and where else could the remedy be deposited than where the Constitution has placed it? It may possibly be asked what need there could be for such a provision, and whether it may not become a pretext for alterations in the State governments without the concurrence of the States themselves. These questions admit of ready answers. If the interposition of the general Government should not be needed, the provisions for such an event would be a harmless superfluity only in the Constitution. But who can say what experiments may be produced by the caprice of particular States, by the ambition of enterprising leaders, or by the intrigues and influence of foreign powers?"

Had the framers of the Constitution distinctly foreseen what has happened in the last six years as to "the caprice of particular States, the ambition of enterprising leaders, or the intrigues and influence of foreign powers," they could not have provided the power to deal with them more distinctly than they have done. The lodgment of this power in Congress was as wise as it is now known to have been necessary; for where else, as Mr. Madison puts the inquiry, could it have been deposited? The President assumes that this power is in him. We pronounce this assumption an unqualified, if not an inexcusable usurpation:—contrary to the plain provisions of the Constitution; contrary to the cotemporaneous views of those who framed it; and contrary to all the prudential policy that runs through the governmental framework of our whole republican system.

The declaration by the President that "*the Constitution had been rolled up and deposited in a pigeon hole during the four years' war*" was a most pernicious mistake. *It was the rebel construction only that had been laid away.* Treason and its apologists have throughout contended that "the general Government had no right to coerce a State." Under their doctrine of State rights and State sovereignty, insurrection and

rebellion was but another name for impunity. The assumption that the war power embraced in the Constitution could be wielded against foreign powers only, and not against domestic enemies, would but ill accord with the ideas of the Fathers who supposed they had provided for "defending their system of republican government" against all enemies, foreign and domestic. The defenders of the Union who stood by the country and Government in their peril, will be slow to acknowledge, as true, the Executive imputation that the defence of the country and Government was not in accordance with the Constitution.

EMANCIPATION A POLITICAL AS WELL AS A MILITARY NECESSITY.

When the leaders of the rebellion made the declaration that "democracy, in its philosophic sense, was incompatible with Slavery," and the further declaration, in effect, that in order to perpetuate Slavery, it had become a political necessity to abrogate democratic or republican government in the South, the general Government was obliged to accept the issue. The unabridged and unbridled power of intolerant Slavery on the one hand, or protective republican government to be maintained on the other, formed the issue. The contending parties understood precisely alike what the issue was; what the opposing principles contended for; and conscious alike that one or the other must go under. The political ideas in which the rebellion originated, and the destructive war it commenced have not only vindicated the just policy of emancipation, but have proved and established its *political*, as well as its *military* necessity.

EMANCIPATION ALSO AN INDUSTRIAL NECESSITY.

In addition to the military and political necessity for emancipation, imposed by the rebellion, there was an industrial necessity of equal importance. In the opinion of this Convention the material interests of the South will be as much benefited by emancipation as the cause of republican liberty. For long years Southern surpluses have been invested in slaves. This added nothing to their capacity as a producing force, while it virtually robbed all other enterprises of capital with which to raise up diversified industries. It left a large portion of the population without profitable employment. The consequence has been deficiency in Southern production. The labor-saving inventions connected with mechanical industry whereby production in other sections has been multiplied in manifold degree, have been introduced in the South to but limited extent. The comparison between States, before the war, illustrates the disparity of production between those having, or not having systems of diversified industry. From the report of the Secretary of the Treasury on the finances for 1856-7, the average

per capita product to each inhabitant of the respective States mentioned stood thus:

| | | | |
|-------------------|-------|-----------------|------|
| Massachusetts.... | \$166 | Louisiana.... | \$65 |
| Rhode Island.... | 164 | S. Carolina.... | 56 |
| New Jersey..... | 120 | N. Carolina.... | 49 |
| Connecticut..... | 156 | Alabama..... | 56 |
| New York..... | 112 | Virginia..... | 59 |
| Vermont..... | 96 | Florida..... | 55 |
| Pennsylvania.... | 99 | Georgia..... | 61 |
| New Hampshire.. | 117 | Arkansas..... | 52 |

The above comparison is drawn between States that have nearly equal advantages in marketing their productions. The statement includes the productions arising from agriculture, mining and manufactures, without including the gains of trade and commerce. Were these added, the disparity would be much increased. There has been a cause, other than the absorption of Southern surpluses in slave property, that has prevented the growth of mechanical industry in the South. To sustain Slavery it was thought necessary to strike down the principle of civil liberty. Had it not been for this, capital and skilled labor might have gone in from other States and countries; but, have been repelled for the sole reason that they *would not go, and never will go* where public opinion is intolerant, or regulated by threatenings and violence. The South has been depressed in production under a false system of political economy, and an equally destructive spirit of intolerance. Should the future of the South be divested of both these evils, the increase in population, capital and production would be astonishing. We anticipate the time when the South will find its remedy in a just and liberal policy, the basis for which has been laid by emancipation. Viewing things in this light, the Convention tenders its congratulations to the people of the Union, and more especially to the people of the South, that Slavery is irredeemably destroyed. We only regret that the intolerant spirit engendered by it has not also passed away.

RESPONSIBILITY AND EMBARRASSMENT THROWN UPON CONGRESS.

The close of the war has thrown upon the general government a manifold degree of responsibility, and owing to the course of the Executive, a manifold degree of embarrassment. With a class of the rebels and their followers, enraged at the destruction of Slavery, and disappointed in their schemes to destroy the Union, their resentment knows no bounds. Defeat has abated nothing of the violence or spirit of assassination that has grown up under the execrable practices of the coercionists. The white Unionists are the especial objects of their hatred and malice. The freedmen are still looked upon as the property of former masters, that by some possible change of political power may again be reduced to servitude. Threatenings and violence are still the order of the day; still employed to suppress the Union sentiment; and are made nearly as effectual

in most places in exciting the fears of the well disposed as during the war, or the reign of terror that immediately preceded it. Evidence is brought from all parts of the South that violence is on the increase, coupled with the determination that no party shall be formed to act in concert with the majority in Congress, or with the party that elected it. This is precisely the character of the so-called "*conservative Unionism*," that has been reanimated into murderous activity by the encouragement given through the President and his policy.

Aside from this reckless class, brutalized in ruffianism by long habit, the bulk of the people, if placed on the side of power, with the President and Congress acting in concert, would most willingly join in producing order and enforcing protection. It is painful to know that this cannot be accomplished until such time as the executive shall see fit to act in conjunction with the Law-making power, for it is useless to pass laws when the executive stands between those laws and their faithful execution. The condition of the South is peculiar. With rebel animosities of long standing, and hatred that knows no bounds toward Union men, it is easy for the most common mind to see and know that nothing but governmental power, firmly exercised, can give protection. It is most unfortunate that the outspoken men of the South who stood by the government during the war, has fallen into disrepute with the President. He regards them as Southern radicals. They are so. They never thought well of the political ideas of the rebels, nor do they discover any material improvement in them yet. The President, on many occasions, has characterized the Unionists of the South as a contumacious element, bent on sowing sedition, but what seems most objectionable with the President they are disposed to affiliate with the majority in Congress and the Union party, and more especially to stand by the constitutional rights of the citizen in opposition to the President's Policy, which they regard as an unmistakable usurpation, as mischievous in effect as it is obnoxious in legality.

CONFLICTING CLAIMS OF POWER BY CONGRESS AND THE EXECUTIVE.

The present Congress and the Executive were elected by the great party that has toiled to preserve the Government, the Constitution, and the Union. The one was elected as the Law-making power, the tribunal of States, that has confided to it the power to declare war; to put armies into the field; *to direct the purposes and objects for which they shall be employed*; to disband them at pleasure; to conclude peace; to establish citizenship and give it protection, and to make all laws "*necessary and proper*" to carry into execution every provision of the Constitution. The other was elected, as the Constitution provides, to carry into execution the laws and regulations prescribed by Congress. These departments of the Government are entirely distinct. To one

is committed the entire *political*, or Law-making power. The other has no political power whatsoever, excepting a qualified negative through the *veto*. When it is considered that the welfare of ten States, the Constitutional rights of citizenship, and the Constitutional principles upon which the government is to be administered, hang in the balance between these conflicting claims of power, there are reasons, higher than partyism, why statesmen should be deliberate and prudent.

The Executive cannot trench on the power of Congress, or take any persistent step to divest that body of its legitimate prerogatives, without both a violation of the Constitution and his official oath: nor does the Constitution leave Congress with a bare negative protest in defending its claims to power. To that body is confided the high power of impeachment in cases of official dereliction, usurpation, or corruption. Congress cannot allow another department of the government to usurp its powers without a violation of its official oath: for it stands as the tribunal, armed with the power of impeachment, to restrain and constrain all other departments to act within the limitation of their respective spheres. Congress creates, modifies, and recreates in the forms of law duties for both the executive and judicial departments, and, as the Constitution provides, these laws are binding on the respective "departments, and every officer thereof." There is no shadow of imperialism in connection with our governmental framework. The Constitution and laws passed in pursuance are the supreme authority, and the President's vocation is to see that they are faithfully executed.

We admit the right of expatriation. The leaders of the rebellion, according to the rules and usages of all nations, placed themselves in the category of alien enemies by abjuring allegiance to the United States, and swearing allegiance to a government at war with our own. It was, and still is a question for the Law-making or political power, having in charge the "general welfare," to treat them as it sees fit; to hold them, if "proper and necessary," to the position they assumed; as aliens, to be deprived of all political rights; as traitors, to be judicially punished; or, as rebels, with alien disabilities, to be tolerated or not according to good or bad behavior. They started as traitors, progressed to the position of alien enemies in form, and placed themselves by their crimes and abjuration in a condition to be dealt with by the political power precisely as the political power should elect. The political power has not yet made its election, and it is as incompetent for the Executive to forestall the power of Congress by special pardon, as it would be to restore them to the rights of citizenship, should Congress elect to place them under the ban of political disability. The power of the "superintending government to defend the system," as Mr. Madison describes it, is not to be measured by comity to traitors adorned with the additional character of alien

or public enemies: but it is to be measured by such necessity alone as secures the peace of the country by securing the rights of citizenship to all such as have not forfeited their rights by crime. On political questions within the jurisdiction of the political authority, the political authority is exclusive. The executive and judicial must follow, and cannot precede it. "None but the Law-making power can trench on legislative ground."

"The superintending government," in carrying out the requirement guaranteeing republican government, wields a power that may be both military and political. The Constitution deals with States as States, or with States in a territorial condition; and it matters not what they are called when the government has been usurped, perverted into an engine to crush the rights of the citizen, or where it has been entirely demolished. The constitutional right of the political power to interfere commences with its necessity. It holds the military power subordinate, and directs when and against whom it shall be employed; can command its assistance to repel usurpation, to overcome armed treason, or subjugate public enemies. The law of force ceases with military necessity; but the political power, which holds the military subordinate, must determine when such necessity has ceased.

In re-establishing the political relations of a State government where it has been usurped, perverted, or demolished, the superintending government must exercise a power purely political. Its power must be exercised in accordance with the Constitution, with nothing in the instrument omitted or overstrained. Such political power superintends, or directs as it pleases, according to necessity, the whole political organization of the State. The enabling act may be as imperative as Congress chooses to make it for the purpose of compelling conformity to the Constitution. The recognition of the State government, when formed, must be submitted to Congress for determination as to whether it is in conformity with the Constitution; or, in other words, whether it is republican government within the constitutional test and definition of what is republican government. From what source the President derives his power to take the initiative, or to direct the incidents and process of re-establishing State governments in the seceded States, is not perceived by this Convention. As commander-in-chief of the army and navy it cannot exist, for as such he is subordinate to the political power. As executive chief magistrate he is equally void of such power. Were there no political questions to be determined as to the status of rebels or freedmen, or any questions growing out of the altered relations between the classes; nor any questions as to the expediency of allowing white rebels to determine the rights of colored Unionists, or manner and degree of protection, it would still make no difference. The political disability of the President would be the same, for he has no authority in any aspect of the case. It is needless to say

he could not delegate to provisional governors a power which neither the Constitution nor laws of Congress had confided to him. The issue between the President and Congress brings up the question whether the President, in taking an unauthorized initiative, and also whether, in pressing the recognition of these States in defiance of Congress, he is not committing an impeachable usurpation. It is not pretended by the President or his supporters that in the political organization of Southern State government he is acting under any other than military power as commander-in-chief of the army and navy.

THE MILITARY POWER MADE SUBORDINATE TO THE POLITICAL.

There was no subject matter that so much exercised the apprehensions of the framers of the Constitution as the combination of the executive and military power in the same person. No subject was so much debated or canvassed with such careful deliberation. While it was conceded that the President in executing the laws should have the assistance of the military to force their execution, there was a grave distrust as to the safety of combining the executive with the military power as commander-in-chief of the army and navy. The framers looked back through history, and traced the numberless cases of imperialism built up from this starting-point of power. Rome as a republic would not intrust the combination of executive and military power in the same person, and therefore duplicated the consuls. Could the framers of the Constitution have foreseen the events of but a few years, they would have seen Napoleon the First artfully corrupting his favorite generals, and after gaining them over, using them to assist in subverting the political power of France that he might rise to imperialism on its ruins. The usurpation of Iturbide in Mexico, and the *coup d'état* of Louis Napoleon, are but simple verifications of the necessity of binding this combination of executive and military power under the most inexorable restraint. The framers of the Constitution adopted the remedy of making it entirely subordinate to the political power, and also subordinate to the judicial power, except in cases of great emergency. They did not stop there. They armed the political power with the power of impeachment to protect against this acknowledged danger of usurpation. When the people neglect to sustain Congress in the maintenance of its political prerogatives as against executive encroachment, the time will have come for serious alarm. It matters not whether the encroachment comes from mistaken right, mistaken duty, or from ambition, or political resentment. It is not to be tolerated in any case, and more especially in the latter. Every approach of executive usurpation should be met, nor should questionable authority on the part of an executive be allowed to grow into a precedent. Executive usurpation, as history records, has been the agency in subverting nearly every republican government, and will, undoubtedly,

sooner or later, test the strength of our own. Nothing can effectually guard against this danger but the determined resistance by Congress, and such resistance to be sustained by the people.

If the Constitution and republic are sustained they will be sustained and perpetuated by the lovers of constitutional liberty—such as look upon the constitutional rights of the citizen as “*the paramount object in the institution of government.*” There is no other political force in the United States that can be relied on—no other that can be trusted. All political contrivers, whose ideas are not firmly and steadfastly fixed on the preservation of these rights, are little else than a political nuisance. The professions of men should pass for nothing except in connection with principles they are earnestly endeavoring to carry out. All men, whatever their object, from the genuine patriot to the usurping despoiler of his country, profess honesty of intention. Those who act from the most questionable motives are generally loudest in their professions of patriotism. In the midst of contending parties the land will teem with falsehood and hypocrisy. There is one unfailing test of sincerity, patriotism, and truth. Does the man or his party stand firmly by the personal and political rights of the citizen, in all sections, in all places; and does he seek to make protection co-extensive with these rights? This platform is simple and ingenuous. None can cavil with it. None dare openly dispute its claims to support. Everybody from old age to childhood, white and black, can understand it. No true statesmanship can be built on any other platform, for no substantial prosperity can be achieved under the reign of political rufianism, violence, and crime. The party that stands firmest to the maintenance of these rights is the only party fit to administer any government, State or National.

THE ELEMENTS COMPOSING THE ADVERSE PARTIES.

A passing word with regard to the make-up of political parties may not be out of place. The party of constitutional liberty is composed of the political forces that have stood by the government in its peril. Speaking in a philosophic sense, it embraces the radical or “free soil” element of the old democratic party; the republican or democratic wing of the old whig party; the republican portion of the naturalized population that intelligently stands on principle; the unconditional white Unionists of the South who have struggled against rebellion under all peril, the four million colored citizens, North and South, who have established their right to assist in defending the constitution and the Union by arms, and an equal moral right to sustain them by their votes;—and recently, the promised affiliation of the Fenian Brotherhood that represents the sorrowing heart of Ireland in its longings to disenthral its native country from the aristocratic heel of Britain. These are the forces on one side, and their simple creed is, “*The constitutional rights of the citizen throughout the Union must be maintained inviolate.*”

Opposed to this party we note the materials represented in the late Philadelphia Convention. The apostates from the Union party, the mercenary managers and traders for official patronage, who devised the President's policy, stand in the foreground. This handful of men formed the nucleus around which the supporting forces were invited to rally. The rally was made, and we shall not be disputed when we assert that it embraces every usurping element of treason in the South—every anti-democratic force in the slave States that voluntarily supported the rebellion. It embraces every political element in the North that sympathizes with treason and its anti-democratic objects. Not a single contumacious force, North or South, that opposed the war or disparaged the cause of the government during the war, but what was represented in that convention. It had one article in its creed, and that was—the *usurpation of the President!* It had manifold objects to achieve by forcing the usurpation as a finality. One was, to compel the recognition of the illegitimate State governments built on usurpation, and which are precisely as hostile to the principles of the Constitution as they were before they seceded, or during the war. Another was, to break down the majority in Congress and the party that elected it; and to inaugurate a Congress with rebel ideas, to be sustained by the identical forces in combination that composed the conservative convention at Chicago and the rebel Congress at Richmond in 1864. The President and his supporters seem determined to force this party, mainly composed of rebels and the apologists of treason, into permanent power. He intends to subjugate the party that nurtured him into the foreground, sustained him as long as he stood by principle, and only abandoned him when he had taken the last step in apostasy by going entirely over to the rebels. We would respectfully suggest to his excellency that he has undertaken a conquest that will prove difficult and troublesome. It would have been quite as easy for him to have kept on in the line of duty in subduing the balance of the rebellion, as it will be to subordinate the Union party to the behests of treason. If, in his late Philadelphia Convention, the President has thrown his glove, in the form of a threat of "another civil war," *this Convention takes it up.*

APPEAL TO THE PEOPLE OF THE NORTH.

We appeal to every lover of justice and beneficent government in the North—to every advocate of such government as should be provided in the South. We state to you sincerely and truthfully, that had the rebels, after the military surrender, said to the Unionists in good faith: "*Now, let us bury all past animosities;*" "*we propose to let by-gones be by-gones;*" "*we will now cheerfully give our support in good faith to the national government;*" "*we will now aim to bring about a state of things whereby property and life shall be made secure, and every human being shall be protected in his rights;*" "*we now propose to*

cast aside all violence of partyism, and to join in the adoption of such course, and such comity, as will encourage and invite population, capital, and enterprise, and make the South flourish on its industries;"—not a Union man in all the South but who would have met them on this ground. *Not a Union man in the South but who is ready to meet them on this ground to-day.* Had the President said this, and said firmly, "This must be the basis of reconciliation;" "this must be the ground work of reconstruction," not a Union man in the South but who would have clung to him with affectionate fidelity, and each and all of them would have joined in the prayer, "*God help you to accomplish it!*" At one time, soon after the surrender of Lee, the above programme for healing the dissensions of the South looked propitious. The old leaders of secession took the alarm. We now call upon the recollection of those leaders who sounded the tocsin at Montgomery, Alabama, to their kindred spirits of the South. "*We must never acknowledge that secession was wrong.*" "*We must never admit that our right to separation was unfounded.*" "*Whatever our misfortunes, we must vindicate the principles we professed, and stand by them.*" This was the instruction in substance. It was spread with the speed of electricity throughout the South. It was caught up and propagated by nearly all the rebel press. Immediately following, every device, social and political, was put in active requisition to make treason popular and Unionism odious.

We have no words to address to the heartless contrivers of the late Philadelphia Convention, or to those of the North who have sympathized with and been the persistent apologists of treason. We deplore the losses of Southern Unionists, whose eight hundred millions, or more, have been confiscated, sacrificed, and destroyed by rebels. We commiserate the condition of the widowhood and orphanage of the South, made such by the relentless conscription that forced their protectors, against their will, into the rebel service. We have an abiding sympathy with the bulk of the Southern population, white and black, that either is, or can be brought into a frame of mind that would make it an element of national strength; but with the incorrigible portion of the rebel element that still persists in making the loyalty of the South odious and treason popular, we have no terms to make. Those of the South who have suffered for their fidelity to principle can suffer still; but when the time comes that they are permanently and hopelessly sacrificed in order to carry out the plans of the politically vitiated forces in combination, there will be an end of the union of these States. To that portion of the people of the North who take pride in a great nationality, who would maintain the public faith inviolate, who look upon protection to the rights of the citizen as the first object of government, and justice to all as the principle that gives strength and stability to political institutions, we say, prayerfully, *God help you to be firm.* It will be in time to appease rebels when

they manifest a willingness to have government established on the golden rule, and consent to be just. It will be in time to elevate treason and degrade loyalty when your assent is obtained to the demolition of republican government.

During the last six years we have been painfully instructed by the teachings of calamity. Our distresses have sprung entirely from and can be traced to a violation of natural and political right. We declare with equal confidence that all the substantial good achieved by the people of this nation, industrial, educational, and political; all our national strength and stability in government, have grown out of the maintenance of constitutional right. We are not such political infidels as to believe that national quietude, material prosperity, or the popular welfare can be promoted by the perversion of these rights. We declare, as the opinion of this Convention, that not less than thirty millions of our population possess all the natural motives, and are interested by all they hold dear, to maintain these rights. We further declare, distinctly, our purpose to assist in bringing into political affiliation, and also into military organization, every man of whatever race or color, who will vote for these rights; fight for them if need be; with the further declaration, that rebels and the apologists of treason in their present frame of mind, shall never be permitted to rule this nation under any circumstances whatsoever.

PROTECTIVE POWER OF CONGRESS.

All the constitutional rights of the citizen are placed under the guardianship of the political power of the nation. This power is purely protective. It was made politically supreme for the express purpose of protection. It can pass all laws *necessary and proper* to carry into execution all provisions of the Constitution. Obsolete Slavery can now look back to the time when its aid was invoked to make the rights of property more secure under the fugitive slave law. Colored citizenship can now invoke its aid to pass all laws *necessary and proper* to give effective protection to its rights, irrespective of the nature of the means, so be it, that the means are *necessary and proper* to accomplish the object. The jurist may look back to the Judiciary Act of 1790, and see how carefully the rights of property in litigation were guarded against the obstruction to justice by local and clanish prejudice. This was done by according to the privilege of removing causes for adjudication, in certain cases, from State to Federal courts. The words *necessary and proper* received a judicial interpretation by the Supreme Court of the United States, in deducing the power of Congress under the Constitution to establish a National Bank. Whatever is *necessary and proper*, as a means to be adopted, to carry into effect or execution any provision of the Constitution, is a question, as decided by the Supreme Court, for the exclusive consideration of Congress. Some of these powers have lain dormant, the exigencies not having

arisen, until recently, to call them into requisition. The rebellion, the war, and its results, as well as the changed relation of classes, have made many things *necessary and proper* that would not have been deemed so had the relations of the States and inhabitants remained undisturbed. It would be strange, indeed, if the rights and interests of four million people had not as strong claims upon Congress for all means effective in giving protection, as Slavery had in the adoption of the fugitive slave law; as a litigant in court has under the judiciary act, or as corporators had in the establishment of a United States Bank. Whenever it can be shown that it is *necessary and proper* for Congress to make our political system homogeneous by prescribing a uniform rule of suffrage for all the States, the members of this Convention will be prepared to show that Congress has the power to do it. Whenever it is shown that it is *necessary and proper*, as a means of protection, for Congress to prescribe a rule of suffrage for the people of the rebellious States, we will also be prepared to show clearly its constitutionality.

POLITICAL ATTITUDE OF CONGRESS.

The present position of the majority in Congress is this:

1st. The constitutional rights of the citizens, as established by the Constitution, must be maintained inviolate under the clause which invests Congress with power to make all laws *necessary and proper* to carry into execution the provisions of the instrument.

2d. These rights being established by the supreme law of the land, there is no power, legislative, executive, or judicial, State or National, that has authority to transgress or invade them; and protection to these rights must be made co-extensive with American citizenship.

3d. If the maintenance of these rights involves the political necessity of disfranchising traitors to the Constitution and government, then such traitors must be disfranchised.

4th. The public faith must be kept inviolate; the defenders of the nation must be affectionately remembered and honored; and the widowhood and orphanage that lost its protectors in fighting the battles of the Union must be cherished and sustained.

5th. The rebel war debt, traitorously contracted to overthrow the Constitution and government, must be forever repudiated by constitutional provisions, and in such form that no change of parties in political power shall ever be able to revive it.

6th. The emancipation of slaves having become a military, as well as political necessity in upholding the principles of republican government, it is unjust, unwise, and impolitic to award compensation, thereby inflicting additional burdens of thousands of millions on the already overburdened industry of the nation.

Congress and the people are not unmindful of the facts, that while the spirit born of Slavery

has grievously impaired the common rights of the citizen and disparaged the masses, it has inflicted injuries on the people such as no nation could endure that was not endowed with natural resources of most unlimited extent. Were we to estimate the investment of Southern surpluses in slaves whereby mechanical and other necessary industries in the South were paralyzed; the deficiency in Southern production resulting therefrom; the rebel war debt and the destruction of property consequent on the war; the Union war debt with the vast amount to be paid in interest; the destruction of industrial labor; to say nothing of republican ideas debauched and made politically vicious; the sacrifices would amount nearly to the entire value of the property of the Union in 1860. Such is the result of Slavery, that contaminated nearly every thing it touched; and such the political economy attempted to be built upon it. The unconditional loyal Unionists of the South who concur in the idea that constitutional protection is of paramount importance, and the rights of the citizen the first object of government, forego all claims for slaves emancipated, and cheerfully tender them as an humble offering to the great cause of republican liberty.

THE DISPOSITION OF CONGRESS.

In speaking of the majority in Congress and its disposition towards the people of the South, we arrogate nothing in saying that we know precisely the sentiments entertained by that body. There is not an intelligent man in the United States, North or South, but who knows there is nothing of a political nature so much desired by Congress as that the South should be politically restored at the earliest day possible that it can be accomplished *on the basis of protective State governments*. There is prevailing through the South to-day the same spirit of violence and assassination that lately exhibited itself at Memphis and New Orleans. When it was asserted in the columns of the *National Intelligencer* that a convention of the character here assembled "would not be tolerated in any place in the South," the author knew well whereof he spoke. It is useless attempting to disguise the fact that throughout the whole South the practice of regulating political opinion by mobs, terrorism and violence, exists as much as ever and exists in all places where it has not been broken by military force, immediately followed by the disfranchisement of rebels. What could Congress, or the Union party, more desire than that the people of the South should have protective government; established through State organizations; entirely beneficent in their character; well disposed to the Union, and just to the rights of every citizen? This, we know, is precisely what Congress is aiming at, and the intelligent rebels know it as well as we. Congress has labored to give protection wherever it could against the murderous spirit of Southern treason, still wickedly disposed, and this the Northern apologist of treason knows as well as

we. It is useless attempting to pervert the honest designs of an intelligent and patriotic body of men, intent, and firmly intent, on carrying out the protective principles of the Constitution by forcing the unwilling contumacy of rebellion into the adoption of such State government as would give protection to the rights of all:—government that would establish peace on the only basis whereon it is possible for peace to be established:—such government as would make life and property secure; invite population, capital and enterprise; and make the South flourish on its industries instead of being despoiled of prosperity by the practically destructive ideas and contumacy of its rebel conspirators.

UNION MUST BE ON THE PRINCIPLES OF THE CONSTITUTION.

A political union of the States, without a union upon the beneficent principles of the Constitution, is but another name for sectionalism and perpetual war. It might be convenient for party contrivers, but would result in no good to the interests or people of the South. We have had enough of the calamities resulting from this kind of union. Rebel ideas in one section and republican ideas in another will be certain to work the same political divergence that taught us we had no union. It matters not how many civil wars it may cost, the rebel ideas that produced the revolt must be extinguished. They might have been virtually extinguished to-day, had the President acted up to the rational plan of making the rights of citizenship instead of rebel representation in Congress the basis of reconstruction. There is one sovereign higher than the President; higher even than Congress, and that sovereign will be obeyed. It deals with States as imperiously as it has dealt with rebels, and nothing of an executive, political or judicial nature in the Union but what is subordinate to it. That sovereign is the Constitution. It is as beneficent as it is inexorable. It is as mild as it is supreme. It constitutes the only plan ever devised by statesmen and political philosophers whereby government was founded on the golden rule. This Constitution is the embodiment of republican ideas and political truth, firmly ingrained in the sentiments and attachments of the bulk of the American people, and admired by the liberalists the world over. Much as it has been praised and extolled, it would be praised and extolled in a manifold degree were its beneficent principles more widely and truly comprehended. The Unionists of the South represented in this Convention have sent three hundred thousand troops into the Union army to uphold it. Should the occasion again occur, they will send twice that number to maintain it, and to maintain all the rights of citizenship under it. The Union soldiers of the South send greeting to the noble veterans of the North, and propose this joint pledge—"No sacrilegious hand shall be permitted

to despoil this charter of liberty of a single feature that adorns the instrument !"

REMINISCENCES OF INDEPENDENCE HALL.

The members of this Convention are assembled here to-day to assert and maintain the constitutional rights of the citizen. We are well aware, as assured in the columns of the special organ of the President, that a convention of this character "would not be tolerated or allowed to assemble in the South." The reason of this is found in the re-animation of rebel atrocity by encouragement through the President's policy. The complexion of the case is only an illustration of the axiom, that "*where civil liberty does not exist, tyranny and oppression are sure to prevail.*" How different in this land, made sacred by the reminiscences of the early patriots. In this city—here in Independence Hall, where the voice of our Fathers proclaimed a new theory of government, founded on the protective principle, the Unionists of the South may still assemble. Under a cheering welcome from the heart of the North, they can re-assert the doctrines of their sires. In imagination, the associations connected with this venerable place bring those departed spirits before us. There sat Hancock, in calm dignity, presiding over a Congress about to utter the greatest words ever politically spoken. There sat Lee and there Pinckney. There sat Adams and there Carroll. There stood the five great men as they unrolled the immortal document that asserted and proclaimed the inalienable rights of humanity. There stands the bell that rung out the first great peal of American Liberty—and there—outside, stood the assembled citizens breathlessly waiting for the signal that was to indicate that the great declaration had passed. Strange indeed, that we, the common inheritors of the political rights, vindicated and established by our revolutionary fathers, should be compelled to return to this birth-place of Liberty to proclaim anew its doctrines, while at the same time we are constrained, in humiliation, to note and mark the political degeneracy of the South. Humiliating as the task is, there is one consoling satisfaction. The ground on which Independence Hall stands is still sacred to Liberty. The people of the State who have it in keeping are uncontaminated with the vice of political apostacy. When this place shall be defiled by treason to the principles of the Constitution, and those having it in keeping shall become degenerate, then, and not till then, will the rebel declaration come true—that "*Republican government is a failure.*"

Mr. Tucker, Virginia—Mr. President, I would like to say concerning the motion of Mr. Sherwood—

The Chair—Mr. Tucker has not the floor.

Several gentlemen now arose and endeavored to obtain a hearing.

The Chair—rapping all down—Gov. Brownlow, of Tennessee, has the floor.

Gov. Brownlow, bowing his acknowledgments, said: Mr. Chairman—I have but one remark to make, sir. My first connection with politics in this country, commenced in 1828, when in Tennessee. I was one of a corporal's guard who espoused the cause of John Quincy Adams. From that day to this I have been in conventions—State Conventions, Southern Conventions, National Conventions—and I have voted for and against addresses and documents of this kind, many and many a time. The address read this morning by the gentleman from Maryland (Senator Creswell), I regard as the most able and appropriate document I ever read. I have no objection to the amendment of my friend, Mr. Botts, because in my judgment it makes the document more severe; and, on the whole, I am for adopting it without dotting an I or crossing a T.

Mr. Botts—I would beg my friend's leave to say that I made no mention of amending by striking out the words I refer to, I would only suggest that I would like it better, and in order that there is to be no misunderstanding, I would suggest that the word "*true*" be inserted before the word Democracy.

Gov. Brownlow—We are able to adopt it as it is. We are not prepared to stay here for nights and days, and I hope we will contribute toward a fund for the publication of 10,000,000 of copies, in type big and clear enough, and that Andy Johnson, drunk or sober, may read it. I move the previous question. I have been in many conventions—State Conventions, National Conventions, Southern Conventions—I have voted for all kinds of addresses and documents of this kind, many, many times. The address read this morning by the gentleman from Maryland, is the most able and proper document I have ever heard or seen.

The amendment offered by Mr. Botts was adopted.

The question was then taken on the substitute for the address of the Committee, offered by Mr. Sherwood, of Texas, and decided in the negative.

The vote was then taken on the address reported by the Committee. The address was adopted.

Gov. A. J. Hamilton, of Texas, as Chairman of the Committee, reported the following:

The Committee on Resolutions beg leave to submit the following resolutions embodying the views of a majority of the Committee, which do not contain all the enunciation of principles desired by a minority of the Committee, but who, in a generous and conciliatory spirit, have united in submitting this report.

RESOLUTIONS.

1. *Resolved*, That the loyal people of the South cordially unite with the loyal people of the North in thanksgiving to Almighty God, through whose will a rebellion unparalleled for its causelessness, its cruelty, and its criminality, has been overruled to the vindication of the suprem-

any of the Federal Constitution over every State and Territory of the Republic.

2. *Resolved*, That we demand now, as we have demanded at all times since the cessation of hostilities, that the restoration of the States in which we live, to their old relations with the Union on the simplest and easiest conditions consistent with the protection of our lives, property, and political rights, now in jeopardy from the unquenched enmity of Rebels lately in arms.

3. *Resolved*, That the unhappy policy of Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, is, in its effects upon the loyal people of the South, unjust, oppressive, and intolerable, and accordingly, however ardently we desire to see our respective States once more represented in the Congress of the Nation, we would deplore their restoration on the inadequate conditions prescribed by the President as tending not to abate, but only to magnify the perils and sorrows of our condition.

4. *Resolved*, That the welcome we have received from the loyal citizens of Philadelphia, under the roof of the time-honored hall in which the Declaration of Independence was adopted, inspires us with an animating hope that the principles of just and equal government, which were made the foundation of the Republic at its origin, shall become the corner-stone of the Constitution.

5. *Resolved*, That, with pride in the patriotism of Congress, with gratitude for the fearless and persistent support they have given to the cause of loyalty, and their efforts to restore all the States to their former condition as States in the American Union, we will stand by the positions taken by them, and use all means consistent with a peaceful and lawful course, to secure the ratification of the amendments to the Constitution of the United States, as proposed by Congress at its recent session, and regret that the Congress, in its wisdom, did not provide by law for the greater security of the loyal people in the States not yet admitted to representation.

6. *Resolved*, That the political power of the Government of the United States in the administration of public affairs, is, by its Constitution, confided to the popular or law-making department of the Government.

7. *Resolved*, That the political status of the States lately in rebellion to the United States Government, and the rights of the people of such States, are political questions, and are therefore clearly within the control of Congress, to the exclusion of, and independent of any and every other department of the government.

8. *Resolved*, That there is no right, political, legal, or constitutional, in any State to secede or withdraw from the Union; but they may, by wicked and unauthorized revolutions and force, sever the relations which they have sustained to the Union; and when they do, they assume the attitude of public enemies at war with the United States; they subject themselves to all the rules and principles of international law, and the laws

of war applicable to belligerents, according to modern usage.

9. *Resolved*, That we are unalterably in favor of the union of the States, and earnestly desire the legal and speedy restoration of all the States to their proper places in the Union, and the establishment in each of them of influences of patriotism and justice, by which the whole nation shall be combined to carry forward triumphantly the principles of freedom and progress, until all men of all races shall, everywhere beneath the flag of our country, have accorded to them freely all that their virtues, industry, intelligence and energy may entitle them to attain.

10. *Resolved*, That the organizations in the unrepresented States assuming to be State governments, not having been legally established, are not legitimate governments until recognized by Congress. (Adopted.)

11. *Resolved*, That we cherish with tender hearts the memory of the virtues, patriotism, sublime faith, upright Christian life, and generous nature of the Martyr-President, Abraham Lincoln. (Adopted.)

12. *Resolved*, That we are in favor of universal liberty the world over, and feel the deepest sympathy with the oppressed people of all countries in their struggle for freedom, and the right of all men to divide and control for themselves the character of the government under which they live.

13. *Resolved*, That the lasting gratitude of the nation is due to the men who bore the battle, and in covering themselves with imperishable glory have saved to the world the hope of free government; and relying on "the invincible soldiers and sailors" who made the grand army and navy of the Republic to be true to the principles for which they fought, we pledge them that we will stand by them in maintaining the honor due the saviors of the nation and in securing the fruits of their victories.

14. *Resolved*, That, remembering with profound gratitude and love the precepts of Washington, we should accustom ourselves to consider the Union as *the primary object of patriotic desire*, which has heretofore sustained us with great power in our love of the Union when so many of our neighbors in the South were waging war for its destruction, our deep and abiding love for the Father of His Country and for the Union is more deeply engraven on our hearts than ever.

Mr. Grisham (Tenn.)—I move the previous question upon the adoption of those resolutions.

The motion was put and agreed to.

Mr. Stokes (Tenn.)—Mr. President, after the adoption of those resolutions a Committee will report an Address and Resolutions from the non-reconstructed States, separate and apart from the other. I desire to make this announcement in order that they may have an opportunity of presenting them at the proper time.

The resolutions were read a second time, each of them being acted upon severally, and they were unanimously adopted.

Mr. H. Maynard (Tenn.), after the eleventh resolution was again read, suggested that the Convention manifest their approval by rising in silence.

The President—I hope the Convention will accept the suggestion.

When the question was put the entire body rose upon their feet.

The President—I pronounce the resolution unanimously adopted.

A communication was presented to the Chair and read, wherein the greetings of the Loyal Radical State Convention of Kansas were sent to the Southern and other Conventions sitting in Philadelphia, and stating that the prayers of all loyal hearts are offered in behalf of the success of the principles and objects in which they were engaged. It bore the signature of the President of that body.

Resolutions were received passed at a meeting of Northern delegates, welcoming and cheering their fellow-citizens who are assembled in Convention at Philadelphia, and recognizing in the Southern Unionists now assembled here the true representatives of the men who, with so much patriotism, held to the Union in the late struggle for national existence, and supported the cause of freedom in the very hot-bed of rebellion. They extend their hearty sympathy, not as a charitable donation, but as a deserving encouragement for the performance of their patriotic duties, which they have a right to claim from every loyal man in the country. They recommend the granting of rights to those who have labored in the cause of the country and of freedom as a guarantee to their political power, and rejoicing in the hope that liberal and impartial justice will dictate it, at the same time calling upon all Unionists, white and black, to peril everything for the life of the Republic.

The President announced the receipt of a communication from the loyal men of Southern Alabama, which was read. It was thus:

ADDRESS FROM ALABAMA.

To the Hon. the Chairman of the "Loyal Southern Convention," assembled at the City of Philadelphia, in the State of Pennsylvania, Sept. 3, 1866.

Sir: I am requested by a large number of loyal Unionists of Northern Alabama, residents of Marion, Walker, Winston, Morgan and Franklin Counties, to speak for them by letter to the Chairman of the Convention.

They have instructed me to say that they are now, as ever, true and loyal men to the present Constitution. That they accept and fully support the policy laid down by the Congress of the United States in the Civil Rights Bill, and the provisions of the proposed amendment to the Constitution.

They pledge to the Union Republican party of the nation their unwavering support in the

consummation of its glorious work of reconstructing this Government on an everlasting basis of Freedom, Justice and Equality.

They thank the loyal masses of the North, and especially do they thank the soldiers and sailors of the army and navy of the National Government for the suppression of the late Rebellion; waged for the sole purpose of establishing a slave oligarchy in the South, which would have been more horrible and oppressive, if possible, to the loyal whites of the South than actual Slavery; and eternal woe for the colored man and his posterity; and they thank Almighty God for their deliverance.

They renew their faith and allegiance to the Federal Union, and pledge their lives, property and sacred honors to the support of the Great National Union Republican Party—which has in its keeping the precious charter of our liberties—the Federal Constitution.

They denounce the restoration policy of Mr. Johnson, especially as they believe it is calculated to give strength to the enemies of the Republic and weaken its friends.

That they look upon the late Johnson Convention at Philadelphia as a first step taken in the grand plot now laid by traitors North and South to accomplish the overthrow of the Republic. That they have come to this conclusion very reluctantly; but passing events since the surrender of the rebel armies have forcibly convinced them of its truth, and that it would be suicidal to admit the Southern States as at present organized into the legislative council of the nation.

They assure their loyal friends of the North that the same elements which "fired the Southern heart" and were principal instigators of the Southern Rebellion, and immediately after the surrender apparently "accepted the situation" in good faith, have become emboldened by the course of President Johnson and his policy, and are to-day not only demanding their admission back to seats in Congress with a spirit of vindictiveness which is utterly disgusting, but they are trying again to "fire the Southern heart" by proclaiming that "negro equality" is to be forced upon them unless they aid Mr. Johnson in destroying the loyal Republican party which they term "Radical," and declare to the people that if Mr. Johnson's policy meets with a rebuke this fall, that war must settle the question—and they tell them "*Montgomery Blair, a wise Statesman of the North, has predicted a contest between parties, if Mr. Johnson fails to carry out his policy.*" These loyal Alabamians now wish to assure the loyal people of the North and the Congress of the United States that they themselves are not oppressed by any law which Congress has made, and being confident that more than half of the voting population of Alabama are true and loyal citizens, and that they never have complained of oppressive laws being imposed by Congress, and who approve the Constitutional Amendment as proposed *in toto*, are encouraged to ask in the name of their

posterity that the Southern or rebellious States be denied representation in the National Council until they shall have ratified the proposed Constitutional Amendment and remodeled their State constitution and laws, which are at present incompatible with a republican form of government.

They regret exceedingly their inability to send representatives to this Convention, but desire to be remembered as friends battling for one common cause, which must ultimately prevail so sure as right must triumph over wrong. Yours, in the glorious cause for freedom and humanity,

A. M. SIMMONS.

Tuscumbia, Ala., August 29, 1866.

A Delegate—Mr. President, I have a motion to submit, which I have no doubt will receive the unanimous approval of this body. The Convention which met in the City of Philadelphia, on the 14th day of August, presented their resolutions and proceedings to their master, Andrew Johnson. I propose and make a motion to the effect that a Committee of one from each State be appointed to lay our address and our resolutions before the representatives of the people of the United States in Congress assembled.

The motion was agreed to.

THE COMMITTEE TO INFORM CONGRESS.

The following is the Committee appointed to wait on Congress and present it with a copy of the official proceedings of the Convention: Lorenzo Sherwood, Texas; Thomas J. Durant, Louisiana; the Hon. Wm B. Stokes, Tennessee; Lewis McKenzie, Virginia; Joseph E. Warton, West Virginia; G. W. Ashburn, Georgia; M. J. Saffold, Alabama; Dr. L. L. Pinkton, Kentucky; George L. Adams, Mississippi; Colonel John S. Cavender, Missouri; A. A. C. Rogers, Arkansas; the Hon. David R. Goodloe, North Carolina; the Hon. D. Weigel, Maryland; the Hon. Philip Frazier, S. A. Bosworth, District of Columbia; the Hon. John A. Allendice, Delaware.

VISIT TO THE TOMB OF LINCOLN.

The Special Committee appointed by the Convention to make arrangements to visit the tomb of President Lincoln, through its chairman, Mr. Branscomb of Missouri, presented the following report:

The Committee report the following arrangements and time-table:

The Delegation will leave Philadelphia on Monday, the 10th inst. Speaking in New Jersey, under the direction of the State Committee, on Wednesday evening.

On Tuesday, the 11th inst., the Delegation will proceed to New York. Speaking in New York City that evening.

A portion of the Delegation will proceed to Boston, Massachusetts, to attend the meeting held there in Faneuil Hall on Wednesday, the 12th. On Thursday and Friday, the 13th and

14th instants, the Delegation will speak at various points in Connecticut and Eastern New York, reuniting at Albany on Saturday, the 15th instant.

On Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday, the 17th, 18th and 19th instants, the Delegation will speak at various points in Central and Western New York, reuniting at Erie, Pennsylvania, on Wednesday night.

On Thursday, the 20th instant, the Delegation will be at Cleveland, Ohio, and will speak at various points in Ohio under the direction of the State Central Committee, reuniting at Indianapolis, Indiana, on Tuesday, the 25th instant, and will speak at various points in Indiana during the remainder of the week.

On Monday, October 1st, the Delegation will reunite at Chicago, Illinois, whence they will proceed to the tomb of Abraham Lincoln.

The Committee would state that this programme has been arranged after full concurrence with the delegations from the States through which the Delegation is to pass, and as far as possible with reference to the convenience of the Delegation.

The Committee would state that the delegates from the Northern States have manifested an earnest desire that the Delegation should visit them, and have assured us they will be most heartily welcomed by the loyal people of the North.

CHAS. H. BRANSCOMB,
Chairman of the Committee.

The following gentlemen were appointed to represent the Convention on the contemplated tour:

LOUISIANA.—The Hon. T. J. Durant, the Hon. J. R. G. Pitkin, the Rev. J. P. Newman.

TENNESSEE.—Gov. W. G. Brownlow, the Hon. Horace Maynard, the Hon. S. M. Arnell, the Hon. A. J. Fletcher, the Hon. T. S. Fowler, Col. Wm. B. Stokes.

TEXAS.—Gov. A. J. Hamilton, the Hon. J. H. Bell.

VIRGINIA.—The Hon. John Minor Botts, Judge John C. Underhill, the Hon. Lysander Hill, the Rev. J. W. Hunnicutt.

WEST VIRGINIA.—The Hon. A. J. Campbell, Gov. Boreman, the Hon. H. G. Pole, the Hon. C. G. Baylor.

ALABAMA.—The Hon. Albert Griffin, the Hon. M. J. Saffold, the Hon. D. H. Bingham.

KENTUCKY.—The Hon. James Speed, the Rev. R. J. Breckinridge, the Hon. H. Stockbridge.

MISSISSIPPI.—The Hon. R. O. Sidney.

ARKANSAS.—Gen. A. A. C. Rogers.

MISSOURI.—Gov. Thomas C. Fletcher, the Hon. Geo. P. Strong, Col. John S. Cavendar, the Hon. Madison Miller, W. L. Pope, Col. Charles E. Moss, the Hon. C. H. Branscomb, Col. Weston Flint.

NORTH CAROLINA.—The Hon. Daniel R. Goodloe, Hope Bain.

MARYLAND.—The Hon. A. J. Cresswell, the Hon. H. S. Bond, the Hon. John L. Thomas, Jr., the Hon. J. J. Stewart.

DELAWARE.—The Hon. Nathaniel B. Smithers.

INDIANA.—Col. D. B. Hart, the Hon. P. Fraser.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.—Gen. Joseph Gerhardt.

Mr. George Tucker, of Virginia, Gen. E. J. Davis, and Lorenzo Sherwood, of Texas, and several others, were added to the list.

Dr. R. O. Sidney, of Mississippi, offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That a Finance Committee of five be appointed to raise funds for the purpose of defraying the expenses of printing and publishing the proceedings of this Convention. The resolution was adopted, and Dr. Sidney,

were appointed said committee.

On motion of Mr. Sherwood, of Texas, it was

Resolved, That a Committee of three be appointed to superintend the printing and publishing of the proceedings of the present Convention.

The following Committee was appointed: The Hon. Lorenzo Sherwood, of Texas, the Hon. John A. Cresswell, of Maryland, and Col. Weston Flint, of Missouri.

INVITATION TO VISIT NEW YORK.

A communication was received from the Loyal Union League of New York, requesting the Southern delegates to visit New York. The invitation was accepted.

George Barbour Lewis, of Memphis, Tenn., offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That it is emphatically the duty of the Nation to see to it effectually that, in such mode as may be efficient, a free and ample education, *under loyal influences*, be provided for all the children and youth of all the late Rebel States not yet readmitted; and the poisoning of the minds of Southern youth by the teaching of secession and treason in their common schools, academies and colleges shall be prevented and suppressed.

Judge Lewis said that, at the suggestion of his friend Stokes of Tennessee, he would substitute the word "reorganized" for the word "readmitted." It was important that the children of the South should be educated under loyal influences, especially those under the special tutelage of the Government, whether white or black, in any way that Congress should deem expedient.

A Delegate from Tennessee moved to lay the resolution upon the table, saying they should first take care of their own friends.

A Delegate from Delaware moved to refer to the Committee on unreconstructed States.

Gen. Rogers, of Arkansas, said that he had been opposed all his life to strife on account of

the principle involved in the resolution. This resolution was based upon a proposition that was not a fact, viz., that there was a degree of ignorance among the white people of the South, as fanatical men would have them believe. He had lived South all his life, and did not desire to hear reflections cast upon their people, even though they had committed the enormous crime of treason. [Cries of question being made, the President asked Gen. R. to confine himself to the question.] He then concluded by saying that he was opposed to placing the entire destinies of his section in the hands of Congress.

The motion to refer to the Committee on Unreconstructed States was carried.

Various motions to adjourn were offered and lost.

The Hon. John L. Thomas, Jr., of Maryland, offered a resolution of thanks to President Speed and the officers of the Convention, for the able manner in which they had filled their positions; which was carried.

O. G. Goldsborough of Maryland, offered the following resolution, which was adopted:

Resolved, That this Convention returns its hearty thanks to the Union League of Philadelphia, for the magnificent banquet given at the League House on Wednesday, September 5th, 1866.

A Delegate moved to adjourn *sine die*.

A Delegate—I see that it is intended to force this Convention to adjourn *sine die* to-day, to choke off all discussion. That cannot but sow seeds of disorder and contention among us.

On motion, the Convention then adjourned at 2½ o'clock until 6 P. M.

Evening Session.

PROPOSED ADJOURNMENT SINE DIE.

The President called the Convention to order at 6 o'clock.

Gov. Brownlow said—Mr. President: We have been engaged for the past four days and nights in very laborious duties. We have in those four days done a good work, and done it well. Many of us are now obliged to leave for our homes—some have left already. I therefore move that this Convention now adjourn *sine die*.

The Chairman of the Finance Committee appointed to raise funds to defray expenses of the Convention, called the attention of the Convention to the fact that but a portion of the necessary funds had been collected, and hoped the Convention would not adjourn *sine die* without making some further provision for the payment of the expenses.

Judge C. B. Sabin, of Texas, moved that the vote on the adjournment should be taken by States.

Mr. Warmouth, Chairman of the Committee on the Non-reconstructed States, attempted to address the Convention in reference to the report of that Committee, but was ruled out of order, as a motion to adjourn was before the House, which was not debatable.

A motion was made to lay the pending motion on the table, and the inquiry was made whether the vote on that motion could be taken by States.

A delegate inquired whether there was a quorum present; if not, whether the Convention could adjourn *sine die*.

The motion to table the pending motion was then put, and lost.

The question then recurred on the motion to take the vote on the adjournment *sine die* by States.

Gov. Fletcher, of Missouri, moved to amend by providing that each State be entitled to as many votes as they have representatives in Congress at the last apportionment.

Mr. Warmouth, of Louisiana, stated that the Committee appointed by the Convention on the condition of the non-reconstructed States would be ready to report at 10.30 to-morrow morning, and trusted that the Convention would not adjourn until the report had been received and acted upon, and insisted that great injustice would be done the non-reconstructed States by such a premature adjournment.

Mr. Warmouth spoke at length, urging the Convention to receive the report before their adjournment, but as there were no lights in the room the reporter was unable to write his remarks.

A delegate from Maryland moved that the Convention adjourn until 10 o'clock to-morrow morning, then to receive the report. Ruled out of order.

Mr. Clayton (Md.), moved the previous motion. Mr. Cresswell (Md.), spoke in reply to Mr. Warmouth. The motion of the previous question was lost.

A great deal of confusion followed, several members attempting to speak at the same time amid cries of "light, light," and "order, order."

The gas having been lighted, Mr. Clayton, at the request of Gov. Hamilton, withdrew the call for the previous question.

GOV. HAMILTON.

Gov. Hamilton then addressed the Convention, and in the course of his remarks appealed to members not to urge the motion for adjournment *sine die*, as it could only produce confusion in the Convention, and would do great injury to the non-reconstructed States. The delegation from the border States were attempting to force this premature adjournment, and thus shirk the responsibility which they feared might attach to them if they adopted the report of the Committee. He would inform the gentlemen from the border States that according to the original design of this Convention, they were not included in the call and that it was not intended that they should participate in its proceedings. The invitation was finally extended to them out of sheer courtesy, and it was not thought that the courtesy would be requited as it had been. [Cries of "Order, order."]]

Mr. Cresswell, of Maryland, appealed to the gentleman from Texas (Gov. Hamilton), to allow him one word in explanation.

Gov. Hamilton—"You have had nearly all the words of this Convention, and I claim some privileges for myself." He then stated that the representatives of the border States were largely in the majority; that they were almost ten to one in members over the delegations from the non-reconstructed States; that the Gulf and non-reconstructed States had been already compelled to yield much—too much. The object of the call was to place before the intelligent millions of the North the true condition of the loyalist of the South. They had not come here to influence the election of one more or one less representative from Maryland to the next Congress. They had met to settle questions affecting the very life of the nation, irrespective of the manner in which it might affect any of the leading political questions of the country. They had not yet completed their work. A Special Committee had been appointed by the Convention, charged with the special duty of reporting on the condition and the necessities of the reconstructed States. The other committees, on the addresses and resolutions, had presented their reports, and now the border States attempted to close the mouths of the Convention by a forced adjournment. If they desire to escape the responsibility of what other members might say in the Convention, they need not endorse the report. The border delegates need not bear the responsibility of what the poor whites of the South did. They were up to the mark, the border States were not. There had been a statesman in Maryland, the ringing tones of whose manly voice he remembered, and who would not have attempted to produce a schism in this Convention to advance his political interest. God bless the memory of Henry Winter Davis! [Sensation.] There was a point beyond which the human heart refused longer to be crushed; he appealed to them not to attempt to stifle the opinions nor conceal the true condition of the non-compromising Union men of the South. He hoped that they would hear the report and act upon it before adjourning. He did not want to impair the moral effect of that report by having it said that the Convention adjourned and left but a little tail of the Convention to consider it. He had no doubt but that Andy Johnson would be infinitely obliged to the border States if they succeeded in muzzling the other delegates in the way attempted. Act the manly part. Do justly, fearless of all political consequences. He had been denounced as a felon. There was scarcely a crime known to humanity with which he had not been charged, and all because he had dared to tell the loyal people of the United States the solemn truth. There were men from the South here, against whose character there was no reproach engaged in the same cause, and he felt a personal interest in having the truth stated by the united delegates of the Southern States.

SENATOR FOWLER.

Senator Fowler, of Tennessee, trusted the Convention would not now adjourn. They came here on a noble mission, too precious to be measured by hours and minutes. They were to devise means to shield the loyal people in their midst. Their hearts were bound in a common cause; many await our action with anxiety. The only reason they had not more men here from Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and South Carolina, was merely because they could not come. Their hearts and their sympathies were with this Convention. [Applause.] But to listen to those who have come he was willing to remain longer. The stories of murdered Union men continued to sweep over the land, and they must look to it that protection is extended to one and all. [Applause.] Allusions have been made to Maryland. He deprecated them; for that noble, gallant, and patriotic State stands as one of the foremost in the cause of justice and of freedom. [Applause.] When Rebellion stifled the breath of patriotism, the cheering gales from Maryland revived the vital spark. [Applause.] That, indeed, was a noble State and a noble people. We are not prepared to cradle in oblivion the memory of the gallant and fearless Davis. [Loud applause.] No, he still lives in the hearts of the people of Tennessee as dear as any human being who has passed from this earth in the last century. His spirit dwells among them, his voice still echoes in the temple of freedom—a divine music to the loyal American people. Those of his State honor and are honored by the memory of Davis. Their arms and hearts are ever in the cause of patriotism. With these reflections, could they adjourn now? He trusted not. They should remain another day. [Applause.] It is a very small sacrifice in a holy cause.

COL. M'KILLIP.

Col. McKillip, of Maryland,—I thank the gentleman from Tennessee for the kind allusion he has made to Maryland, but she needs no defense. As to the motion to adjourn *sine die*, I need but say it emanated from Gov. Brownlow, of Tennessee; that divests it from any garb of doubt. [Applause.] Again I thank the gentleman who preceded me, although Maryland, the object of his eulogy, is accused of being behind time. Let me say there is a jewel in her crown the brilliancy of which has evoked the applause of the nation. I allude, Sir, to the fact that when emancipation was first suggested, Maryland advanced, without the guidance of even Congress, herself, and there she stands alone. [Cheers and applause.] She did not wait for the Constitutional amendment, nor for the encouragement of the United States Government. [Applause.] I imagine that we have been misapprehended by those who would cast undeserved obloquy upon us. It is asserted that in preparing the address to be made by a Committee from the non-reconstructed States, embodying the history of their grievances, that letters would be presented, the

authors of which would not appear. My understanding is that they were to represent to the Convention their real condition, the wrongs they suffered, and the effects of the President's policy. Now, I hold it is eminently proper that they should themselves attend to it. Coming from them, it would have much more force and weight.

GOV. BROWNLOW.

Gov. Brownlow, of Tennessee, said that he rose in his feebleness to undo what he had *done*. He wished to say that he had had no conversation with any gentleman from Maryland on the subject. He had no understanding with anybody or any delegation. He had known that a large number of delegates were going away to-night. They had done their work, and done it well; and he thought they might get into some disturbance if they remained, and do more harm than good; for that reason he had moved to adjourn *sine die*. Some gentlemen, from a mistaken view of his character, said that they were afraid of negro suffrage, and wanted to dodge it. He had never dodged any subject, nor was he ever found on both sides of any subject. While he was satisfied with everything done, he would go further. He was an advocate of negro suffrage and impartial suffrage. He would rather be elected by loyal negroes than by disloyal white men. He would rather associate with loyal negroes than with disloyal white men. He would rather be buried in a negro graveyard than a rebel graveyard; and after death he would sooner go to a negro's heaven than a rebel white man's hell. He then withdrew the motion to adjourn.

A motion was made that when the Convention adjourn, it be till to-morrow at 10 o'clock, which was carried.

SENATOR WILLEY.

The Hon. Mr. Willey desired to know whether it was expected that the delegates from the reconstructed States were to take part in the discussion of the report which was to be submitted to-morrow. [Cries of "No, no."] Having then finished their business so far as the border States were concerned, he hoped that no offense would be taken if delegates having business to attend to should leave to-night for their homes. He regretted to hear the sentiments his friend from Texas, Gov. Hamilton, had expressed. Texas had no firmer friends than the men who dwelt on the Virginia hills, thousands of whom had shed their blood in her defense, and it sounded harsh to hear men whom they had loved so well charge them with infidelity to her interests. He denied the charge. West Virginia had made a record for herself, and while they were grateful for the kindness with which they had been treated, yet they had established themselves as firm as the mountains they inhabited. Why could they not have good feeling? The unreconstructed States had no warmer friends than he was. West Virginia bade them God speed. They had meant no disrespect in proposing to

go home. He would bid them God speed in their good work, hoping the time would come when they could take their place among the galaxy of States. In his place in the United States Senate he had supported negro suffrage. He had no disposition to retard it now, but, as the distinguished Governor of Tennessee had said, they had done their worst. They had no desire to embarrass the loyal South by new issues, when a distinct issue was already made, and however much he desired impartial suffrage, it would be rash to imperil their success by raising a new issue now.

MR. SHERWOOD.

Mr. Sherwood said that the Unionists of the far South had not finished the business that induced them to call this Convention together. They were compelled to make their platform on the Constitutional Rights of the citizen. They were not so much in want of Constitutional amendments as they were of Congressional legislation under the powers Congress now possesses. These powers are ample to protect the rights of the citizen without any addition. They make their platform on these rights, and will promulgate their platform before they leave the city of Philadelphia. They will insist that these rights are the paramount object of Government. Planting themselves on the Constitutional rights of the citizen, the Southern Unionists—

The President interrupted Mr. Sherwood, saying: There is nothing before the Convention.

Gen. J. H. Eaton, of Tennessee, offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That the delegates from the non-reconstructed States make their report to this Convention, and that said report be published for the information of the country, with the proceedings of this Convention, but that all action on said report be taken by the delegates from the non-reconstructed States.

The resolution was adopted: after which the Convention adjourned to the next day at 10 o'clock, A. M.

Fifth Day.

Philadelphia, Friday, Sept. 7, 1866.

The Convention assembled at 10 o'clock, and was opened with prayer by the Chaplain, the Rev. Dr. Newman, of Louisiana.

PRAYER.

The following dispatch was received, and read by the Secretary:

Brownsville, Nebraska, Sept. 6, 1866.

To the President of the Southern Loyal Union Convention, assembled in Philadelphia:

Resolved, That we, the Republican Union

Party of Nebraska, in convention assembled, send you our cordial greeting.

D. H. WHEELER,
Secretary of Convention.

[Applause.]

The following was also read:

To the Members of the Convention of Loyal Unionists of the South:

Gentlemen:—On behalf of the Union League of Philadelphia, I have the honor to request the pleasure of your company on an excursion along the river front of the city to the fleet of iron-clad vessels now lying at League Island.

The excursion boat will leave Chestnut-street Wharf on Saturday morning, the 8th inst., at half-past ten o'clock, and return at one o'clock, punctually.

I beg leave to add that the partial destruction of our building by fire will not interfere in any respect with the proceedings of the League as heretofore announced and contemplated.

I have the honor to be, respectfully,
CHARLES GIBBONS,

Chairman Committee on Reception.
Philadelphia, Sept. 7, 1866.

On motion, the invitation was accepted.

The following communication was also laid before the body by the Chairman:

Office of State Grand Council of }
Pennsylvania, U. L. A., }
Philadelphia, Sept. 5th, 1866.

At a meeting of the State Grand Council of Pennsylvania held this day, the following resolution was unanimously adopted, to wit:

Resolved by the State Grand Council of Pennsylvania, now in session in this city, to send greeting to our loyal brethren in convention assembled: That we bid them God speed, and pledge to them our earnest and hearty support in all such measures as they shall devise for the preservation and perpetuity of the Union.

SAM'L F. GWINNER,
Sec. Grand Com. of Pa., U. L. A.

RESOLUTION OF THANKS.

Mr. Nunes, of Kentucky, in view of the kindness and attention that the Convention had received from the Union Club and the Union League of Philadelphia, offered the following:

Resolved, That this Convention tenders its profound thanks to the National Union Club and to the Union League of this city, for the kindness with which we have been treated by the Associations which have so courteously and generously sought to supply our wants, and minister to our comfort and convenience.

In offering this resolution he desired to state a fact, which he presumed, however, all the members of the Convention had already learned with deep regret, that the hall of the Union League was last night completely destroyed by the act

of an incendiary. He called attention to the significant language of President Johnson, recently used in a speech in front of the Continental Hotel of this city, that "he wanted no leagues in the country." This calamity had followed. He would not say that the destruction was the result of that language, but the declaration was significant. The Union League, however, did not dwell in a house made with hands, but in the hearts of the people, and no incendiary act could destroy it. [Applause.]

The resolution was unanimously adopted.

Mr. Butts, of Virginia, offered the following:

Whereas, The beautiful building belonging to the Union League of this city, in which we have been so generously entertained, was destroyed by fire last night, be it

Resolved, That we hereby tender to the Loyal Union League our heartfelt sympathy in the loss they have sustained, and especially at this time when they were engaged in the struggle to protect the life of the nation.

Unanimously adopted.

THANKS TO THE TRIBUNE AND INDEPENDENT.

Mr. Bingham, of Alabama, offered the following:

Resolved, That the firmness, ability and fidelity with which *The New York Tribune* has advocated the cause of emancipation, the principles of civil liberty, the promotion of schools and educational facilities of our Southern masses, our industrial pursuits, and the development of their material resources, in agricultural, mineral, manufacturing and commercial prosperity, commend it to our hearty approval. We therefore recommend it to the patriotic patronage of all loyal people in the Southern States.

Mr. Mason, of Virginia, moved to amend by including *The New York Independent*.

The amendment was accepted, and the resolution unanimously adopted.

PERSONAL COMMUNICATION.

A communication was read from Gen. A. A. C. Rodgers, of Kansas, informing the Convention that he had been compelled to leave for home; that he had done the business for which he came, and was not prepared to go before the country on the question of negro suffrage.

Mr. Markett, of Arkansas, said, that the State of Arkansas was still represented in this Convention. He had never yet been contaminated by "my policy," or by the policy of any one else. He claimed for himself no more than he was willing to give to every other human being—equal rights. [Applause, and three cheers for Arkansas.]

THANKS TO JUDGE UNDERWOOD.

A Virginia delegate offered the following:

Resolved, That the thanks of the Southern loyalists are due, and are hereby tendered, to the

Hon. J. C. Underwood for his fearless discharge of duty in endeavoring to bring to justice the great head of the rebellion, Jefferson Davis. [Applause.]

SPEECH OF MR. CONWAY OF LOUISIANA.

Mr. Conway, of Louisiana, said, that he considered the resolution eminently proper. The President of the United States, before he was exalted to that high office, declared, and the declaration received the amen of the loyal heart of America, that treason should be made odious; but up to this day the promise had not been kept. To this day disloyalty had not, by that man, been made odious. Loyalty, instead of treason, had been made odious. To-day, in his pilgrimage to the West, he was doing all that he could to make the true loyalty of the South odious. [Applause.] Andrew Johnson, that once said in his hearing that he owed Tennessee a debt, and that it could not be paid in better way than by hanging rebels. Yet the only man who had been squarely hung for treason in this land had been hung by Benj. F. Butler. [Cheers for Gen. Butler.] Treason was to-day seething in the hearts of the people of the South. When he was commissioner of the Freedmen's Bureau in Louisiana he had a thorough detective system, and through it he had discovered a large number of secret organizations in the South, organized for the advanced purpose of destroying this government, sooner or later. This Convention had met for the purpose—neglected by the President, but determined to be accomplished by the people—of making treason odious. [Great applause.] Treason was already odious in the hearts of all loyal people, but respectable in the hearts of copperheads and traitors. This Convention must settle the question whether loyalty was to be allowed in the South, or whether the policy should crush it out entirely. This was a dark day for the loyal men of the South, because of the action of the President and Cabinet; but there was a glorious sunlight coming from the people. Even some of the delegates to this Convention had appeared to be afraid of that sunlight. In traveling through the different States he had found that the people were advancing in loyalty, but that the politicians were where they were in 1861. The people at heart were honest, and loved God, and truth, and liberty. The people wanted treason made odious. The people demanded in God's name and in the name of the Constitution of the country, that Jefferson Davis be hung by the neck until he was dead.

A second reading of the resolution was called for, and allowed.

ADDRESS OF MR. HART, OF FLORIDA.

Mr. Hart (Florida): Mr. President, this is the first time I have risen to address this Convention. We are assembled here as loyal men of the South—as men who have suffered. But I know there are a great many faithful and patri-

otic men here who have suffered more than I have. Yet, as one of them, I am bound by a common sympathy to the noble cause in which we are engaged. No man is more willing, therefore, than I am that "treason should be made odious," and I will say that the edicts of Jefferson Davis, issued during the war, pierced my heart as deeply as anything possibly could. In my humble efforts, I am anxious, I am determined, that it shall be made odious. That loyalty which actuates the North, and lives in our breasts, demands it. The same verdict comes from the East and also from the West. When President Johnson announced that doctrine, it was endorsed in its length and breadth by all patriotic men. But he has to our amazement, departed from it. He has abandoned that sentiment of justice to which the loyal heart still clings, and which it is resolved shall be carried to a triumphant issue. Sir, in regard to this resolution, in my heart I approve it; but let us take counsel like magnanimous men. The first part of it has reference to Judge Underwood. I honor him. The calumnies uttered against him by the late Confederate press have made no other impression on my mind than to increase my admiration for his undaunted loyalty. [Applause.] But it is proper for us to say what is the course the judicial tribunals should pursue? The law is intended for that, and the loyalty of the people will see to its execution. It is an important theory in our government that discourages judges from taking a part in those political questions which would sway their decisions one way or the other. It seems to us, friends and brethren, that it matters not to the common cause for which we have suffered and which we love, what may be the fate of an individual under the law. Treason is now odious, and it will forever be odious; and if any one suffers the punishment due to his crimes, it will be considered according to the theory of the law of the land, not as infliction upon an individual, but for the great moral influence of the example. Let the law take its course. He is now where he should be—in the hands of the officers of justice. It seems to me, then, as he is in prison, in the hands of the law, that we should be silent about it. If we, the loyal Union men of the South in convention assembled, use any language of this kind toward any of those who have been engaged and in that odious cause, while they are in prison, it would appear that we are giving a biased construction to the laws of the country. I trust that we shall set an example of magnanimity, which I know reigns supreme in the hearts of all loyal men. [Applause.] I am satisfied that the heart of him who offered this resolution is right, to which mine accords upon all these great questions. But it is better, in my opinion, for us not to do this thing, that we should rather set an example of magnanimity. Let him stay where he now is. [Applause.]

MR. JENENTS, OF VIRGINIA.

Mr. Jenents (Virginia) said, the gentleman

who had spoken did not understand the circumstances which prompted that resolution. Scurrilous attacks had been made by the papers of his town upon the delegates to this Convention, charging them as men of no respectability and of no character. An especial allusion to Judge Underwood was made in connection with us, and infamous attacks on the grand jury that found the indictment against Jefferson Davis. His name was mentioned in the category upon whom they cast their abuse. He was born and bred in the South, and always labored to maintain an unblemished character. His only crime was in meeting the rebels face to face, and expressing his opinions fearlessly, and on all occasions. [Applause.] When the articles he referred to appeared in the papers, he endeavored to contradict them, and to set himself and the others right. But they refused him the opportunity, stating such a thing would be disgracing their sheets. As he was thus unable to place these free and loyal men in a proper light before the people there, he wanted it done here, where they could see it in a free and untrammelled press. He wanted the people of the South to understand the true facts of the case when they met the rebels face to face, and place themselves in the proper position. [Applause.]

MR. SIDNEY, OF MISSISSIPPI.

Mr. Sidney (Miss.): As a member from Mississippi he wanted cordially to indorse that resolution. In 1846 he was a soldier in arms, who fought through the war beside Jefferson Davis. But he now stands convicted before the bar of the people of treason; he is a traitor before the law. [Applause.] When the tocsin of war was sounded in 1861, he hastened to the front of the Union army, and claimed the right to serve his country. Those present who knew him could testify to that. He hated treason and all those in whom it found a place. Still he admitted he would not be a fit jurymen to sit upon the case of Jefferson Davis, for he would hang him without trial. [Applause.] He wanted expression upon every subject properly submitted to this body. He indorsed the resolution, and pressed it for action upon those assembled.

GOV. HAMILTON.

Governor A. J. Hamilton said, the vindication of liberty and outraged law demanded that justice should overtake the leaders in the late rebellion. But they did not assemble to waste time upon Jefferson Davis, an individual. He thought they could leave the proper tribunals to discharge their duty in his case. If they failed, then it would be time enough to call upon them to perform their sworn office. [Applause.] He did not desire to get up a controversy then. He asked members to reflect for a moment on that matter, and he trusted the resolution would be laid upon the table. As no motion had been made to that effect, he made it now. He would not, however, be understood as casting a reflect-

tion on Judge Underwood. No one could admire his firmness and heroism in the discharge of his duty more than himself.

MR. FERNANDEZ, OF LOUISIANA.

Mr. Fernandez (La.) said, it had not been his intention to address this Convention, but he would say that this was not a tribunal of justice. They came here to transact more important business than to pass resolutions about Jeff. Davis, or any other traitor. He had been told from childhood that the rights of the prisoner should be respected until he had been tried, and that he should be considered innocent until proven to be guilty. This was the spirit of American law, and, he thought, was the spirit of law throughout the world.

Mr. Clements withdrew the resolution.

THE CONTEMPLATED VISIT TO NEW YORK.

Gov. Hamilton, as chairman of the Committee appointed to respond to the invitation to the Convention by the Union League of New York, to visit the city of New York, asked that the Committee be discharged. It was impossible to say when the delegates in a body could visit New York, and therefore the Secretary of the Union League should be informed of that fact, and the delegates could severally determine for themselves whether to go or not.

The President said, that the Committee, failing to report, were of course discharged.

Gen. J. H. Eaton, of Tennessee, offered the following:

Resolved, That we recognize the vital importance of a free, independent press in the organization of States and society in the South, and that we give our united support to those papers in our midst that are fearless in the advocacy of equal justice, and suggest to our friends in the North that this support is essential to our defense.

The mover said it was an excellent thing for the loyal citizens of Philadelphia to extend to them the glorious reception they had enjoyed, but it was a more glorious thing to strengthen the press of the South, that Union sentiments might be advocated with courage and persistency. The press should receive business support and subscriptions of the loyal men of the North, that they may have a chance to do their best. In Mississippi there is only one loyal paper; in Alabama but three. These are so cowed down and feebly supported that their hands are crippled in every effort. Unless the Northern loyal men felt the necessity of sustaining these Union papers, these true men and women of the South could not remain in their homes alive.

Gen. Eaton called for the reading of the resolution recommending the necessity for supporting the loyal newspapers of the South. After the reading, he said:

In moving the adoption of that resolution, I do it with a deep conviction of its necessity,

believing that it will be instrumental in sustaining the freedom of the press in the South, which, next to freedom of speech, is the great privilege that you must have if you are to live in the South. Look at the disloyal sentiment of the country, and mark how few are the outspoken newspapers. They have a religious weekly which speaks boldly out, edited by our Chaplain (Dr. Newman). They have also a daily, edited and managed by the negroes—the only loyal daily in that section of the country. [Applause. A voice—"The New-Orleans Tribune."] The *New-Orleans Tribune*. [Applause.] The editor of that paper called upon me at Memphis, and said that day after day, when returning home from his office, he had been fired at by the way. This is the freedom of the press enjoyed in the South, reconstructed by "my policy!" You know that without freedom of opinion, liberty goes down; and you know that freedom of opinion is impossible where freedom of speech is not enjoyed, and that free expression is essential to freedom of opinion and freedom of speech. Now, gentlemen, I say, sustain those papers, if you would extend your aid to the men who have been persecuted, and who remain there, perhaps, to become martyrs, as others have in the Rebel States. It is an excellent thing to extend to them your support and confidence; but I tell you it is a more practical thing, meeting a more immediate necessity, to give them the support of freedom of opinion, peace, and success in their own homes. Gen. Eaton continued by hoping they would extend their aid and their subscriptions to that end. In Alabama there was but one loyal paper, *The Nationalist*, of Mobile, supported principally by the negro population. [Applause.] Its excellent editor, whose earnestness they knew, was on this floor, Capt. D. H. Bingham. In Georgia there was but one. [A voice—"Three."] He was glad to stand corrected. It was a sad fact that while they endeavored to exchange with all loyal papers in the South, they were so cowed down by the Rebels that it was impossible to get them all.

Col. Nunes, of Kentucky, rose to a question of privilege. He had understood that the first business of the Convention this morning was to hear the report of the Committee on Unreconstructed States.

Gen. Eaton recognized the importance of the report, and, after repeating his opinion of the importance of sustaining freedom of expression in the South, gave way.

The resolution was adopted.

On motion of Mr. G. W. Ashburn, of Georgia, the following was adopted:

Resolved, That we recognize the *Loyal Georgian*, published at Augusta, Ga., and the *American Union*, published at Griffin, Ga., as Union papers that are true to the cause of Freedom, Union, and Humanity, notwithstanding powerful opposition.

General Warmouth, of Louisiana, from the Committee to whom was referred the resolution

of Judge Hiestand, on the subject of the recent massacre in New Orleans, reported the following preamble and resolution :

Whereas, The only official report of the New Orleans massacre as yet published is that of the grand jury of the Criminal Court of New Orleans; and the account given by Mayor Monroe, Lieut.-Governor Voorhees, and Attorney-General Heron is an *ex parte* document, prepared by the instigators of the massacre, participants in it, and sympathizers with it; and

Whereas, It is very important that a true statement of all the facts regarding that bloody and disgraceful event should be placed before the country, and the responsibility fixed on the guilty parties; and

Whereas, The military commission appointed by General Baird has made a thorough and impartial investigation, examining witnesses on both sides, and rejecting no evidence which might have a bearing on that case; therefore be it

Resolved, That the President of the United States be requested to cause the publication of said report.

The report was adopted.

PRESIDENT SPEED RELINQUISHES THE CHAIR TO JOHN MINOR BOTTS.

At this point, the Chairman of the Convention, Hon. James Speed, of Kentucky, addressed the body as follows :

Gentlemen of the Convention :—I have stayed with you thus long for the purpose of seeing the business finished; but business of the utmost importance calls me elsewhere. I take my leave of you with regret. It was distinctly understood, I believe, by every member, that in the matter of the report from the Committee on the Unreconstructed States, action was to be taken only by the representatives on this floor from those unreconstructed States. I thank the Convention most cordially for the order which it has maintained. I trust that our labors have been well done; and I believe—from the lightning flashes that we have seen from one end of this continent to the other, from California and all over the country—and I feel that we have not assembled in vain.

The Convention unanimously rose and gave three cheers for the retiring Chairman, who then left the platform and the Convention.

The Hon. John Minor Botts then assumed the duties of President of the Convention.

The Hon. H. C. Warmouth, of Louisiana, then read the

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON UNRECONSTRUCTED STATES.

The Committee on Non-reconstructed States have the honor to submit the following report on the social and political status of the loyalists of such States, together with their needs and requirements.

REPORT.

Previous to the war for sectional disunion, the patriotic traditions, the social pride, the individual interests and the religious and educational influences of the South were identified and closely allied with the American Union. The patriotic instances of the overwhelming majority of the Southern people, without regard to condition in life, were in harmony with these elements. There were social bonds extending from Maine to California, and ties of interest and consanguinity ramifying every fibre of the Republic and embracing every hearthstone and altar in the land. Those who meditated treason were forced by this patriotic sentiment to put on the livery of republicanism to serve monarchy in the disunion. Plotters, for instance, declared they held to the dogma of State rights because its vindication was the only means by which to conserve American nationality. They sought to check the Federal instincts of the American people by declaiming against what they termed the anti-Republican character of a strong, all-sufficient national Government. Thirty years of ceaseless agitation and political intrigue failed to dis sever the bonds of a common country. Those who secretly worked for the overthrow of American institutions say at last that the South must have new social, political and military traditions. That the name of Washington and the deeds of Bunker Hill must be obliterated by blood before the final work of Southern independence can be achieved. A pretext for war was sought, and the Gulf States precipitated into revolution. In the early stages of that revolution the necessities of the conspirators compelled them to keep up the pretext of patriotism until the madness and bloodshed, born of actual civil strife, should place the liberties of persons and property of the Southern people within their control. At the proper moment force was substituted for fraud, the long-concealed and bloody purpose of sectional disunion, *per se*, was openly declared, with human slavery as its corner-stone. The pride of men once committed to the cause, the thirst for military glory, or the mere love of military adventure, the suddenly aroused and unthinking impulse of woman, the new sympathies, new resentments, new hopes and new traditions springing inevitably from a state of war, were coldly calculated upon and deliberately divided for the accomplishment of the traitors' purpose. After four years of bloody strife, the first phase of the contest closed by the surrender of Lee to Grant. The termination of the bloody conflict found the people of the South crushed to the earth by the two-fold influence of military defeat and a long reign of military despotism, wielded by the diplomatist with a selfishness and ferocity unparalleled in the history of political crime. Freed by the Union arms from their tyrants, our unfortunate countrymen were once more, as freemen, face to face with the authors of their misery. They had seen every pledge made to them violated, every principle

or pretext of principle trampled under foot; they saw around them the desolation which had been wrought in the interests of a selfish aristocracy, and they returned to their ruined homes and decimated families, leaving the authors of all their woes to pay the penalties of their crimes and receive as they deserved the execration of mankind. Should the people of the South, under the influence and guidance of the loyal men, return to the ancient traditions of their fathers and reorganize loyal society in the interest of American nationality and republican liberty, or should they, under the guidance and influence of the traitors who but lately ruled over them, be confirmed in the prejudices and traditions of disunion? This was the inquiry which at the close of the war sprung spontaneously from the mind of every lover of his country. Upon its decision depended the question whether the North or the South had fought in vain. When the armies of the United States compelled the surrender of these rebel forces, and the insurgents returned to their homes, the patriots of the South welcomed them back in the spirit of forgiveness and brotherly love. Their houses were thrown open to them, and in the hour of reunion they overlooked their great crimes and endeavored to heal the wounds of injured pride and unsuccessful ambition. The first question they asked themselves was this: "What will the Government do with us?" It was the general anticipation among them that, having revolted against the Government, having fought for four years to establish an independent government, the United States, in justice to hundreds of thousands of noble, patriotic soldiers, who had died for their country—in justice to the loyal men of the South, and in justice to its violated laws—would impose such penalties on the leaders of the Rebellion as would prevent them from assuming to control by administration, direction or voice, the government of the insurrectionary States, with the full knowledge of the issues which they themselves had deliberately made; compelling the Government to join issue, with arms in its own defense; and having, after a long bloody trial, been utterly defeated and overthrown, they were conscious of their own unworthiness to participate in the work of reconstruction. Indeed, judged by the code under which they had governed during the Rebellion, they had cause to tremble for fear of confiscation of property and banishment. In this they were confirmed, and their fears intensified, when, by the assassination of President Lincoln, Mr. Johnson (whose pledges to the country that treason should be made odious and traitors punished) became the Executive of the nation, their fears were relieved, and their depression turned to the feeling of exultation and triumph when the North Carolina proclamation developed the President's policy. From that hour the question, "What will the Government do with us?" was no longer asked, but they at once began to deliberate what they would do with the Gov-

ernment. The anxious question of patriotism as to who should guide the work of loyal reconstruction was answered also. The question with them, uttered with whispering lips and beating hearts, was "What will the disunionists do with us?" The press of the South, owned and controlled by leaders of armies, divisions, brigades and regiments of the Rebel service, and by the immediate political adherents of Jeff Davis, with significant and startling unanimity, supported the executive plan. The ruling ideas and representative men of the loyal nation were attacked with renewed revolutionary violence—the American Congress denounced as Rump, acting without authority. The policy of the President, backed by his great patronage and increased power, assured them in the hope of being placed in absolute power in their States and restored ultimately to their merited influence in the national Legislature. Those who had remained faithful in their allegiance were denounced as traitors and as unworthy the confidence or respect of the country, and those who did not indorse the Executive policy were persecuted in the name of the President, with the added malice of unsuccessful revolution. The Executive, Legislative, and Judicial offices of the States filled with ex-Rebel officers of high position and rank, elevated in consideration of services rendered and sacrifices for the Confederacy, burning under the effect of recent defeat, produced in great measure by the loyalists of the South, launched at them every shaft of persecution and intolerance. Almost every Union man, who by appointment or otherwise held office or place, has been summarily removed to give place to men who had distinguished themselves in the Confederate service; and so anxious and determined were they in removing every element of power from Union men that forms of law were disregarded. State officers in Louisiana, for instance, upon the most flimsy pretext, were superseded by illegal appointment and ejected by force without trial or forms of law. The Legislatures vent their indignation on the colored people by the enactment of what are kindly termed "labor laws," which absolutely maintain Slavery, with the exception of buying and selling the people, as the previous enactments for that purpose. As an instance, the laws passed by some of our legislatures provide that all persons engaged in agricultural pursuits as laborers shall be required during the first ten days of the month of January of each year to make contracts for the ensuing year, and in case of failure such laborer shall be arrested by the civil authorities and hired out; and however much the laborer may be dissatisfied, he dare not leave under the penalty of being apprehended and forced to labor upon the public works, without compensation, until he will consent to return to his employer. It is punished with fine and imprisonment to entice or persuade away, feed, harbor or secrete any such laborer. In this way they are compelled to contract within a limit of ten days, punished by legal

enslavement for violating a simple contract, and prevented from obtaining shelter, food and employment. By severest penalties he has been made a serf in the name of freedom, and suffers all the evils of the institution of Slavery, without receiving that care which the master, from a sense of his own interest, would give to his bondsmen. By the act of some of our legislatures, it is made a trespass for any man to enter upon the plantation of another without the consent of the owner or agent, and punishable with fine and imprisonment. The object of this law is evidently to prevent laborers from leaving the plantations upon which they are compelled to engage. It is also made lawful for the employer to fine and punish this employé for failing to labor to suit the employer or disobey any orders. The interpretation of laws and decisions by the courts has been characterized by the same unwholesome and intolerant spirit. The laws passed in the days of Slavery for its protection are enforced with the same exactness to-day as ten years ago. Citizens have been arrested on the charge of having told negroes that they were rightfully entitled to vote; thrown into prison, retained for months, tried by a judge, without a jury, refused time to send for witnesses or counsel, convicted and sentenced to punishment in the Penitentiary. There is no redress of any grievances or atrocities perpetrated upon Union men, or deserters from the rebel armies during the war. It is even necessary to plead special orders from a Confederate officer, for it is said that all citizens belonged by law to the militia, and, as both the State and Confederate Governments had repeatedly ordered the militia to apprehend deserters at any time or place, it is held that the acts passed to screen Confederate officers and soldiers from the consequences of acts committed in obedience to orders covers all acts committed against deserters or conscripts in the attempt of apprehension. As against Union men, however, the law is strictly construed by the courts. The slightest infraction by a conscript in flying to our lines, or by a deserter starving in his cave, is sure to meet with speedy judicial retribution. Did a man resist a conscript officer to the death, it is murder. Did a conscript officer arrest women and children and keep them for forty hours in a fierce storm without food and subjected to the grossest indignities and violence, producing the death of some and periling the lives of others, "it is done in obedience to military authority," and the rebel goes unpunished. In short, in all actions where cause occurred during the war there is plenty of law against the Union man, but none for him. In causes occurring at the present time the fierce hatred of the men who were right, while disunionists were wrong, is sufficient to prevent them passing the triple guard with which treason has surrounded her temple of injustice, viz., disloyal magistrates, disloyal grand juries, disloyal petit juries, to say nothing of the

disloyal agencies of Government. Union men are ostracised and proscribed socially in most parts of the South. Soldiers of the Union army are compelled in many cases to discard the blue which they have worn with honor in order to protect themselves from insult and violence. Ministers of the Gospel are silenced and excommunicated from the churches on account of their constant and steadfast loyalty to the Republic. Disloyal men have military associations which are known in Virginia as the Legion of Honor—in South Carolina and Louisiana as relief societies—all of them composed of Confederate soldiers, and presided over and controlled by their former leaders and chieftains, and used for the purpose of fostering the animus of resistance to our Government and keeping alive the hope of Southern independence. Their object is to monopolize all places of trust and power, preserve the exclusiveness of the South, and at the proper time, when some hoped-for feud may divide the people of the North, it will again throw its sword in the scale and achieve her long-cherished disunion purpose. Loyal men are taunted and threatened in private and denounced in public assemblages. Bowed down and crushed by the foul spirit of a prevailing and clamorous disloyal population, many of our people are selling their estates for whatever they can get to procure money to enable them to leave and come North. During the continuance of the war, rebels feared that punishment would be meted out to them for the wrong done to Union men should they fail in their object. This fear was a protection, especially during 1863 and 1864. Now, even this guarantee is taken away; for our persecutors are the vicegerents of the national power at the South. The Union man is discarded and abjured. He has to look forward to a life of continual persecution for himself and serfdom for his children. The free North offers the only refuge. Without protection for the present and future, there is no hope but in exile.

The strongest evidence of the intolerance of the disunionists is lately given in the action of the civil authorities of the City of New Orleans toward a convention composed of gentlemen of known loyalty. On the 30th of July last, in pursuance of a proclamation of Rufus K. Howell, one of the judges of the Supreme Court of Louisiana, the Convention which framed the organic law under which the Civil Government of Louisiana assumed to act, and which adjourned subject to call of its president, met at the Capitol of the State, in the City of New Orleans. From the time of the Governor's request for the Convention to reassemble, the press of the city, owned and controlled by ex-generals and colonels and other officers of the rebel army, and by those in sympathy with them, attacked with the greatest violence the Convention as a body, and members as individuals, descending to most violent and abusive language, for the purpose of influencing the

minds of returned rebel soldiery and their adherents against the Convention and its members.

Public meetings were held in the city, at which the most violent and incendiary speeches were made against the assembling of the Convention. The Mayor of the city, by means of his police, put in circulation the report of his determination to suppress that body if it should attempt to meet in the City of New Orleans. The Judge of the Criminal Court made a charge to the Grand Jury, in which he disowned and indorsed the policy of Andrew Johnson, and instructed them to find bills of indictment against those gentlemen who should respond to the call of the President of the Convention and the Governor of the State. Having thus inflamed the public mind against the Convention by every means in his power, and invoked the aid of a corrupt Judge and a disloyal Grand Jury, the foreman of which was an ex-colonel of the rebel army, the Mayor of the city addressed a letter to Major-General Baird, commanding the Department of Louisiana, in which he used the following language: "It is my intention to disperse this unlawful assembly if found within corporate limits of the city, provided they meet without the sanction of the military authorities." Thus claiming the authority as Mayor of the city to pass upon the legality of a convention which had made the government under which he held his office and whose Constitution he had sworn to support, and claiming the right and asserting his determination to disperse it in case it should be found within the corporate limits of the city.

It would be supposed, after the able and manly reply of General Baird to this letter, that the determination officially expressed would not have been further contemplated. That officer, after having informed the Mayor that the Convention had not asked for any such authority or sanction, and when asked "If I intended to furnish the Convention with a military guard, I have replied, 'No; the Mayor of the city with his police will amply protect its sitting.'

"If these persons assemble, as you say is intended, it will be, I presume, in virtue of the universally conceded right of all loyal citizens of the United States to meet peaceably and discuss freely questions concerning their civil governments, a right which is not restricted by the fact that the movement proposed might terminate in a change of existing institutions. If the assemblage in question has the legal right to remodel the State Government it should be protected in so doing. If it has not, then its labors must be looked upon as a harmless pleasantry to which no one ought to object. As to your conception of the duty imposed by your oath of office, I regret to differ with you entirely. I cannot understand how the Mayor of a city can undertake to decide so important and delicate a question as the legal authority upon which a Convention claiming to represent the people of an entire State bases its action."

Your Committee are informed that this reply of Gen. Baird, was the cause of a personal interview between the Lieutenant-Governor and the General, when it was agreed that whatever warrant of arrest might be issued should be submitted to him before any attempt was made to have it executed, and that upon the indorsement of the General's objections, the matter should be referred to the President of the United States for his action. This fact being known, produced a feeling of security on the part of the members of the Convention, and on the morning of the 30th of July, appeared a proclamation of the Mayor requesting the people to remain away from the Convention that peace and order might be preserved; it was believed at the time that this was issued with the sincere desire to preserve the peace, but the sequel will show that it was only a mantle to cover the real design. At 12 o'clock the night before the police were withdrawn from their beats, and assembled at their respective station-houses; and, besides the weapons usually used by policemen, each was given a large-sized navy revolver. Thus armed, they were held at the station-houses to await orders. In addition to these measures others had been taken by Harry T. Hays, Sheriff of the Parish of Orleans, and one ex-General of the Rebel army, pardoned by the President to enable him to assume that office, he had reorganized a portion of his old brigade as deputy sheriffs, and they were ordered to be in readiness on that occasion. They were doubly armed with revolvers, and prepared to act with all the efficiency of military discipline. From early in the morning the streets of New Orleans were unusually crowded; the Union men were assembling in the Convention hall, and many were in the street. In front of the building, at the corner of Dryades Street and Canal, were stationed a large number of young men, in citizen's dress, recognized as members of Rebel military organizations, evidently waiting for the signal of attack, and whose subsequent conduct proves conclusively that they, too, were armed and stationed there for a bloody purpose. At 12 o'clock the Convention met, and after a short session adjourned for one hour, to give time for the absent members to appear. Your Committee are informed that it was the intention of the members of the Convention to record the names of those who might be present during the day and to then adjourn until a day subsequent to the elections, to fill the vacancies which were already ordered by the Governor of the State. Near one o'clock the bells of the city tolled a signal, and the police, joined by hundreds of returned Rebel soldiers in citizen's dress, attacked, without any provocation, the people collected in front of the Capitol; they being mostly unarmed, were forced to retreat. Met by another body of police and citizens, they were compelled to submit to unheard of and unparalleled butchery. The street in front of the Capitol being thus cleared, an attack was made upon the hall where the convention had assembled.

The members and audience were found seated

in accordance with the request of the Rev. Mr. Horton, Dr. A. P. Dostie, and others. Without any attempt at arrest, without one word of provocation, the assailants opened upon them a volley. Driven back upon the walls, with no means of escape, and with dead and wounded men all around them, their offers of surrender answered by pistol shots, the besieged, in their desperation, seized the chairs of the hall, drove their assailants, who had by this time emptied their revolvers, from the room. These attacks were repeated until every man had been either killed or wounded, or had effected his escape. While this was going on, in the streets of the city for several squares around the building was a scene of carnage, and whoever was seen with a dusky skin or of well-known loyalty by any of the city officials or by their supporters, the Union-hating mob, was either killed or wounded; every bearer of a flag of truce from the hall of the Convention was met with wounds and death. Many of the victims after being murdered, were subjected to the most brutal lacerations and indignities. It is a fact, worthy of notice, that the mob was not an ordinary one. It was not composed of the dregs of the populace, but of men who claimed to be and are regarded as the most respectable citizens of New Orleans. Men of high standing in the communities were there, some dressed as policemen, and some as firemen, while others, without any attempt at disguise, were openly using their influence to excite the masses to still greater fury. The instances of brutality characterizing this revolting massacre, are too many and too horrible to recite in a document of this kind, but the history of the age in no land, civilized and uncivilized, will narrate a tale more merciless, unprovoked, and unnecessary bloodshed. It was the expressed intention of Gen. Baird to have the United States troops in close proximity to the Capitol in order that the public peace might be preserved. This intention had been communicated by him to the Lieutenant-Governor, who, without authority, and in contempt of the Governor of the State, assumed to confer with the General on the course to be pursued. This official, when informed of the General's design, took occasion to tell him that the Convention would meet at 6 o'clock in the evening, knowing well that the hour fixed upon was 12 o'clock M. Thus deceived, Gen. Baird was surprised to learn when the reports of the massacre were carried to him that the Convention had met at 12 o'clock and had adjourned. All the circumstances connected with this tragic event, the expressed intention of the Mayor to disperse the Convention unless it met with the sanction of the military authorities, the withdrawal of the police from their beats in the city 12 hours before that appointed for assembling of the Convention, the arming of them with revolvers, the signal given at 1 o'clock, and the prompt arrival of all the police of the city, including 600 or 700 special policemen sworn in for the occasion, the presence of the Mayor during the tumult, the deception practiced by the

Lieutenant-Governor to keep troops out of the city, all clearly prove that the bloody tragedy was, as Gen. Sheridan states, "a premeditated massacre." And from the brutal manner in which over four hundred Union men were killed and wounded, from the fact that not one single policeman or participant in the murderous affair has been arrested, from the fact that the same men whose hands are yet red with the blood of the patriot soldiers of the Republic, and crimsoned anew in that of the martyrs of the 30th of July, are still retained in office and power in that city, it is clear that there is no security for the lives, the liberty or property of loyal citizens. It is a part of the history of this massacre that indictments were found by the Grand Jury of the parish, composed of ex-Rebel soldiers and their sympathizers, against the survivors of the Convention, for having disturbed the peace of the community, and that, to day, many of them are under heavy bonds to appear and answer the charge; nor did this seem to satisfy the judge of the Criminal Court, for the grand jury was brought before him on the following day and instructed to find bills of indictment against the members of the Convention and spectators, charging them with murder, giving the principle in law, and applying it in this case, that whoever is engaged in an unlawful proceeding from which death ensues to a human being, is guilty of murder, and alleging that as the Convention had no right to meet, and the police had killed many men on the day of its meeting, the survivors were therefore guilty of murder.

The state of affairs which led to the massacre, is believed to be the legitimate result of the reconstruction policy of Andrew Johnson; for it is an indisputable fact that upon the reception of Gen. Baird's reply to Mayor Monroe, a delegation was sent to Washington to confer with the President of the United States, and that after the conference with that functionary a dispatch was sent to New Orleans informing the Mayor that he would be sustained by the President in his determination to suppress the *Convention*.

The President, ignoring the provision of the Constitution which authorizes the Executive of the nation to suppress insurrection in a State only when called upon by the Legislature of said State, or in case of its not being in session by the Executive of said State, ignoring the Governor and all rules of official intercourse between the State and the National Governments, sent a dispatch in which he used the following language: "To Andrew J. Herron, Attorney General of Louisiana (on the day of the massacre). You will call on Gen. Sheridan, and whoever else may be in command, for sufficient force to sustain the civil authorities in suppressing all illegal or unlawful assemblies." This placed Gen. Sheridan and the United States troops under the command of an Attorney-General of a now reconstructed State whose greatest merit may be said to consist in the fact that he had served four years as an officer of high rank in the Rebel army, giving him the power which the Gov-

ernor himself would not exercise, and allowing him to say whether a convention of loyal citizens was unlawful, and compelling Gen. Sheridan to enforce, by the strong arm of the Government, his interposition. It might have been urged at first with some show of plausibility, in the President's defense, that he was misinformed as to the real status of the Convention and the actual facts of its bloody dispersion; but after weeks have elapsed, after Gen. Sheridan's full report, characterizing the so-called riot as a "premeditated massacre;" after the report of the Military Commission appointed by Gen. Baird to investigate the affair; after the exodus of so many well-known Unionists of Louisiana, on account of the total want of Government protection, this plea can no longer be urged; and when it is moreover remembered that not a single arrest of the guilty parties has been made, and that the same pardoned, perjured Mayor, with his murderous Rebel police, has been permitted to continue the exercise of the power he has so grossly abused, can it be claimed, even by the most credulous or the most charitable, that the President is not responsible for the bloodshed of that day?

But why continue the recital of this horrible record? We have before us evidence from every portion of the South, proving the extent and increasing violence of the spirit of intolerance and persecution above set forth. This Convention is in possession of information that Union men dare not attend this Convention for fear of violence upon their return. Gentlemen of this Convention have while in this city here received notices warning them not to return home. We have omitted the relation of acts of ferocity and barbarism too horrible to relate, and the recital of which would scarcely be credited by a humane and civilized people. We submit to the impartial judgment of the American people, if these State Governments, thus ruled by a disunion oligarchy and based upon the political disfranchisement of 3,000,000 of colored citizens, and the social disfranchisement of the entire loyal white citizens, are republican in form, of doubtful legal existence they are undoubtedly despotic, and despotic in the interest of treason, as we of the South know but too well. This view of the condition of the South before the war, and of the events which have transpired since, brings us to the consideration of the confirmed, consolidated, intolerant, and defiant power of disunion which now controls every department of the non-reconstructed States.

All the restraining influences in favor of the Union existing before the war have perished from the land, save the public light kept alive by the loyalists. The armed efforts to overthrow the Government having been treated simply as an unsuccessful but heroic act, the leaders of the Rebellion stand justified in the eyes of their own people. This is the basis of their moral justification. They possess the lands of the South through the favoritism of the military despotism enthroned at Richmond. During the war they absorbed by contracts and speculation the wealth

of our section. They have been confirmed in the possession of this ill-gotten wealth by the pardoning power of the Executive, by the provisions of the National Bank Act, requiring local residences for Directors; they possess control of the entire financial power of the States, and therewith the lands, the cotton, the tobacco, and railroad wealth, and wielding the banking influence of the country, and speaking by authority of the President as the supporters of his dynasty and administration policy, they *dominate* with an absolute power. If a conflict of arms for the gratification of sectional and party hatred could be, as we have seen, precipitated, notwithstanding the restraining influences which existed previous to the late war, what guarantee have we against a repetition of the bloody experiment in politics, now that the entire South is more intensely sectionalized than ever, overawed by the fearful array of power which surrounds them! Abandoned by the President and impoverished by the ruthless rule which has so long oppressed them, how can the Union men of the South hope unaided to maintain their ground? The remedy which is proposed in the President's policy will only increase our sufferings and open the way to perpetuating the tyranny of oppressors. The admission of these representatives of these treasonable committees into Congress, carries with it the admission of their vote in the Electoral College. They will, on many vital questions of legislature, hold the balance of power in Presidential elections. The effect of their vote in Congress, it is true, can be neutralized by keeping in the Halls of National Legislature a solid body of men with whom it will be impossible for the agents of treason to affiliate, but the same check cannot be applied in the Electoral College. The hope of wielding the united Southern vote in the next Presidential election has already corrupted the fountains of national justice at the capital. An open and shameless coalition has been formed, which needs only for its consummation the success of the President's policy. Into that coalition have been already drawn, by one influence or another, men heretofore identified with the dearest affection of the American people. Thus the work of political corruption will go on; the South, compact, defiant, and sectionalized, with its anti-republican institutions, resting on negro serfdom as the corner-stone; the North, torn by faction and distracted by the ambition of aspiring politicians and contending parties. This conflict of sections will progress, transferred from the battle-fields to the halls of the National Legislature.

The spirit of disunion will seek to gain by the ballot what it failed to achieve by the sword; the second open-armed attempt at separation will be simply a question of time and favorable opportunity. There is but one way to destroy this principle of sectionalism in the South; it is by overturning the corner-stone on which it rests. This work cannot be left to the voluntary act of the disunion class, because their aristocratic, anti-American instincts will find their natural

gratification in the secondary form of Slavery. If the question of emancipation had been left to the voluntary action of these States, does any one suppose they would have adopted the Constitutional Amendment? Would their chosen representatives have voted in Congress for the Civil Rights Bill? Can we look to a landed oligarchy for measures of liberation for the people? Fellow-countrymen, it is our duty to tell you that nothing can be expected from the disunion element in the interest of freedom, right, or union. We are driven to make this declaration after having exhausted every means to induce these desperate men to do justice. We are forced to this conclusion by that blind and intolerant spirit which had abused the magnanimity of the nation, and returned all our deeds and words of charity and forgiveness with ingratitude and persecution.

The time has come when the States of the South must be governed by those who love the Union and glory in its fame, or by those who hate it. There can be no middle ground. Our enemies and yours would not permit us to occupy middle ground, if we desired to do so. They claim to rule. They claim to rule over us by virtue of their treason. They claim to degrade, debase, and proscribe us because of our patriotism. Acting in conjunction with the noble and generous spirit of Christian charity, under which the North was willing to receive back those who had wronged us, the Union men of the South met their neighbors and friends and kindred, willing to forgive and forget the past. We declare that all our efforts, as well as those of the Government, have been met with hypocrisy or ingratitude. In making this final appeal to the country, we declare that the disunion leaders of the South are again the deliberate, wanton aggressors. They offer, as a pretext for our persecution, that the representatives of the American people in Congress have proposed, in a spirit of injustice and proscription, to inflict the South with mere partisan legislation.

Speaking here to-day in the name of the loyalists of the South, we affirm, Congress, in order to avoid discord and conflict, has actually abstained from doing much which it ought to have done, and possesses the power to do. We affirm that the loyalists of the South look to Congress with affectionate gratitude and confidence as the only means to save us from persecution, exile, and death itself; and we also declare that there can be no security for us or our children. There can be no safety for the country against the fell spirit of Slavery, now organized in the form of serfdom, unless the Government, by national and appropriate legislation, enforced by national authority, shall confer on every citizen in the States we represent the American birthright of impartial suffrage and equality before the law. This is the one all-sufficient remedy. This is our great need and pressing necessity. This is the only policy which will destroy sectionalism by bringing into effective power a preponderating force on the side of loyalty. It will lead to

an enduring pacification, because based on the eternal principles of justice. It is a policy which will finally regenerate the South itself, because it will introduce and establish there a divine principle of moral politics, which, under God's blessing, will, in elevating humanity, absorb and purify the unchristian hate and selfish passions of men. It will bless those who give as well as those who receive. It will be the crowning act of glory to our free Republic, and when done, will be received, as was the act of Emancipation, with joy and praise throughout the world as the final realization of the promises of the Declaration of American Independence.

H. C. WARMOUTH, of Louisiana,
Chairman.

C. G. BAYLOR, of Georgia,
D. H. BINGHAM, of Alabama,
A. W. TOURGEE, of North Carolina,
R. O. SIDNEY, of Mississippi,
JAMES H. BELL, of Texas,
JOHN HAWKHURST, Virginia,

Committee.

DEBATE UPON THE REPORT IN RELATION TO IMPARTIAL SUFFRAGE.

Mr. Warmouth.—I am instructed by the Committee on Unreconstructed States, in consideration of the fact that this is a report expressing our condition and our needs, to express the hope that this Convention will consent to allow the delegates from those States only to consider and act upon the report. [Applause.] In their name, therefore, I move that the consideration of and action upon this report, with the consent of the Convention, be confined to the delegates from the Unreconstructed States.

Mr. Goodloe, of North Carolina, said that while sympathizing with the people of those States, he could not support any measure which insisted that the Government of the United States should impose negro suffrage upon the South.

A point of order was raised to the effect that there was a motion before the house to which Mr. Goodloe was not speaking.

Mr. Sidney, of Mississippi, said that the resolution adopted last night provided specifically that this matter should be considered only by delegates from the Unreconstructed States.

A Delegate said it was understood that the proceedings should be printed with those of the regular Convention, with the express understanding that they were the sentiments of the delegates from the Unreconstructed States.

The Chairman stated that although he had not been present last evening, it was his understanding that the proceedings were to be only conducted by delegates from those States.

Mr. Bryant (Ga.) suggested that every delegate who desired to record his name against the adoption of the report should be allowed to do so. A delegate from Maryland had prayed this Convention, in God's name, to exempt Maryland from the great judgment that was pronounced

yesterday, and he should have an opportunity to record his name against it.

The Hon. Daniel R. Goodloe (N. C.) said that he was in favor of impartial suffrage for all men. The loyal people of the South desired it and ought to have it. He could not agree with some gentlemen here who had insisted that negro suffrage was not needed. He had listened yesterday to the eloquent speeches of a Northern lady, an intelligent colored man, and a gifted New York editor, and had been convinced that impartial suffrage and equal rights to all were the only hope of the South. The South demanded it, but they need not endeavor to make those who did not sanction negro suffrage swallow that doctrine. Let them alone, and in two or three years they would come around and be with the Radical party of the South. He moved to strike out the concluding part of the address.

Capt. A. W. Tourgee, of North Carolina—Mr. President: I, too, come from North Carolina, but I do not come here to represent a potential constituency. I come here with definite instructions from nearly two thousand Union men upon this very point. Impartial suffrage is a necessity for us. My constituency declare that there are but two possible safeguards. One is the disfranchisement of all rebels, and the other the absolute and unconditional enfranchisement of all loyal men. [Applause.] The first we consider impracticable, because the disfranchisement of this great mass of disloyal men will establish a banditti more dangerous than that of Corsica. Our only hope, our only salvation, therefore, is in the enfranchisement of all loyal men. [Applause.] I have used my hand and my voice in sustaining the cause of liberty and freedom in North Carolina. I have stood before the people of that State and said what I say here to-day. I have pledged myself, come weal or come woe, so to stand and so to speak in North Carolina just so long as there was a rebel in the State, God and the rebellion willing. [Applause.] If the enfranchisement of all loyal men in North Carolina cannot save it, nothing can save it. I came here to present this fact for your consideration. During the last three months over twelve hundred Union men, principally soldiers, men who had joined our armies and done good service in putting down the rebellion, have been driven out of North Carolina. Men have sold everything they had for merely a nominal value to get money to go to the West, because they could not live in that State. I can go to North Carolina and put my hand upon hundreds of men who have been threatened with death unless they left the State. There is more than a spirit of mere temporary policy in this demand for impartial suffrage. There is the absolute and unconditional fact before us that it is the only mode by which the designs of rebels can be check-mated. No other plan will ever give the Union men of the South a majority there. Gentlemen say that they do not care whether the rebels enfranchise the

negro or not, but are willing that they should. They may be in favor of having the club taken out of their own hands and permitting their own brains to be beaten out with it, but I am not. If the negro is ever to be enfranchised, if the salvation of the Unionists of the South require that it should be done by them and done now, we are bound to come here and ask for it—and to ask for all we need. Shall we accept the crumbs and not ask for the loaf? Shall we say, "Give us this day or daily crumbs," when we must have bread? We must have justice and equality, not justice merely for the black man, but justice, liberty, protection, and salvation for the white man as well. [Applause.] Gentlemen say that this action will make the condition of the negro worse. In the name of God, how can it be worse? As I took the train for this city, a man, whose veracity is unimpeachable, told me that the bodies of fifteen negroes were taken from a river in South Carolina in one day—the bodies of negroes who had been murdered by disloyal men. Can you tell me how their condition can be worse, deprived as they are of all rights, with no chance for justice in the courts, their just causes of action strangled by the grand juries, and cut off from all appeal. Suppose they do appeal? A petition, signed by 700 or 800 of the loyal men of North Carolina, asking protection and a redress of grievances, was recently sent to Andrew Johnson. It reached the President, was referred by him back to the Governor of North Carolina, and by him referred to a disloyal pettifogger in the very town it came from, to know whether these 700 men told the truth or not. This is the situation of affairs in North Carolina, at least in my portion of it. I know the intentions, the feelings, and the wants of those men. I know what they feel to be their necessity. I ask only for that, and I ask it not of the politicians, but of the great loyal people of the North. I appeal to the press and the pulpit to do everything they can to strengthen our arms, and to give us that protection without which we die. It is not a matter of policy. It is a matter of success or complete extermination. Shall we hesitate to do what will secure success? Shall we continue rebels in power, rebels in office, rebels on the bench, rebels in jury-boxes, and Union men in the dungeons?

Mr. Goodloe, of North Carolina, inquired whether the speaker thought that the negroes could go to the polls and vote while Andrew Johnson was President?

Mr. Tourgee—Yes, Sir, I do.

A Delegate from Virginia.—If not, a million of men from the North will help them. [Applause.]

Mr. Bryant, of Georgia—And, Mr. President, the Union men of the South, black and white, will help. [Applause.]

Mr. Goodloe, of North Carolina, said that having adopted one platform here and sent it forth to the country, he did not wish to put his name to another, although he acknowledged the right of other gentlemen to do so.

Capt. Tourgee, of North Carolina, in answer to the question of the Delegate from North Carolina (Mr. Goodloe)—I say that the negroes will vote while Andrew Johnson is President. The Administration party this fall will roll up such an immense minority, and the chances of the Johnson party will be so excessively select, that their only hope will be to take up the sword which we have dropped, and cut our own heads with it. If we do not enfranchise the negroes, the disloyal element of the South will say to them, "We have always been your best friends, look how those Yankees treat you. We have been identified at the North and at the South as the friends of suffrage." Gentlemen may squirm and wriggle and kick on the question of suffrage, but I tell you there is no better chance of avoiding this issue than there is of avoiding the issues of judgment. [Applause.] The only question now is whether we will decide this issue for ourselves, and decide our own weal or woe thereby, or whether we will point out to our enemies their only hope and salvation. [Great applause.]

Dr. P. B. Randolph, of Louisiana—Mr. President: As the only representative of that despised race legally entitled to seats in this Convention, I stand before you and implore you, in the name of the thousands who have fallen upon many a bloody battle-field, to stand, in this hour of the nation's peril, by those who stood by you when that proud flag was trailed in the dust. [Applause.] The time has passed when the Republican party of the United States can sacrifice principle upon the altar of expediency. If we of Louisiana were surrounded as you are by patriotic hearts, we might not press this issue; but to-day we, men of Louisiana, whose voices have been heard in this Convention, dare not return to our wives and homes for fear of the gibbet or the bullet; and unless you stand by us on this question of the rights of man in this our trial hour, we may never be able to return. Sir, I assure you that the enfranchisement of the negro is coming, just as sure as the sun rises in the east, and unless you hasten that event, unless you do your duty by us, the enemy, who is already biding for us, will secure our enfranchisement. Our hearts are with you, but I assure you that the negroes of the South will act with that party who shall give us our rights in the briefest possible space of time. What have we done, Mr. President, that our friends should go back upon us? What have we done that your lips should be sealed? What crime have we committed? Have we not stood by that flag? Have we not fought with you in its defense? Have we not done our duty as citizens of this Republic? Have you ever found a negro a traitor? [Great applause, and cries of, "No, no."] If Abraham Lincoln was living to-day, he would be for the enfranchisement of my people; and I thank God that there are men to-day acting with the dominant party—with noble, manly, stalwart forms, with hearts beating where hearts ought to beat, who are ready to face this issue, and who cry aloud to the nation for justice, and seek

the good of humanity irrespective of conventions or political parties. They may be few, but they are increasing every day. "We are going up to Gideon, to battle for the Lord, We are coming, Father Abraham, five hundred thousand more" [Applause.] This, as I have already said, is the trial of the nation. I say that we negroes deserve your sympathy. You may pity those who are murdered or stricken down, but how much do you pity them? I remember that some years ago an old lady was crossing the ferry at Brooklyn. She had a lot of bonnet-frames in her hand, which the wind blew overboard. Everybody said, "I'm sorry; but a Frenchman standing by said, "I'm sorry ten dollars' worth, how sorry are you?" If you commiserate our condition, if you realize that all classes of the South, black and white, are in danger, why do you not prove your sympathy by your acts. [Applause.] The men of Louisiana are outcasts from our homes and firesides. Throughout that State the rebels rule triumphant. It is everywhere a matter of disgrace to be a black man; it is a matter of scorn to be a Unionist, but to be a black man, a Unionist, and an educator of his people, is to be guilty of the greatest crime under heaven. If you put out the eyes of a man and deprive him of the sunlight, you are committing a great crime against him, but if you withhold our rights from us, what are you doing? Men from the South, I will tell you, you are closing up hundreds of schools; you are driving thousands of black children from the school-houses; you are going to let loose a reign of vandalism more atrocious than the world has ever seen; you are striking a blow at the very heart of civilization; you are enslaving the freedmen; you are hastening the reign of anarchy and confusion. The time has come when the American party of progress must stand squarely up to the principles which it enunciates and face the music, let the consequences be what they may. [Applause.] Therefore, as the only negro—black as night if you please—in this Convention, I appeal to you, as the representative of four million of people, to stand up and do us justice. If you do not, you will regret it. If, when the time comes when we do vote, we, like you, will remember our friends, and not forget our foes. [Great applause.]

Mr. J. W. Hunnicutt, of Virginia—Mr. President, I have been endeavoring to get the floor for nearly five days, so as to say a few words to the gentlemen of the Convention. I may premise what little I have to say with the declaration, that when I left Richmond last week to come here, it was not with the intention of standing up here to represent Henry A. Wise or the *Richmond Dispatch* or the *Richmond Examiner*. I came here to represent the loyal men, the loyal white and black men of Virginia, and, with the blessing of God, I will do it as faithfully as may be in my power. For five days I have listened to the temporizing policy which has been followed here. In my opinion, this is the time for brave men, not cowards; this is the day for gen-

nine statesmanship, and this is the opportunity for it to display its powers to the greatest advantage.

The speaker said, that he had been forced to leave his original locality in 1862 on account of the rebellion; but he had gone back in 1865, willing and anxious to conciliate with former enemies of the Government. He had supposed them humbled. But such was not the case; they were more vindictive every day.

A delegate from Louisiana having obtained the floor, said, that the gentleman from Virginia was out of order, inasmuch as his remarks were not confined to the question.

Mr. Hunnicutt was allowed to proceed. He favored the adoption of the resolutions without the crossing of a *t* or dotting of an *i*. As for negro suffrage, the Convention had said it must, shall, and will come. He came here from the white loyalists and black loyalists of Virginia, who had contributed the funds (\$100) wherewith to send him here to represent them. He declared himself the friend of the white man as well as the black man, and he would return whence he came believing that it assassinated the blood of the martyrs would be the seed of the church. He urged his hearers to go home after the adjournment and advocate their cause elsewhere, and concluded by reannouncing himself the advocate of equal rights.

GOVERNOR HAMILTON'S SPEECH.

The able report which has been read to the Convention this morning relieves me, as I think it does every gentleman who has spoken, or may speak upon the subject, from the necessity of making an argument based upon the condition of the non-reconstructed States. It sets forth clearly and truthfully the present moral, social and political state of those people. Being relieved from that argument, we are brought down to the direct question as to the remedy to be applied for existing evils. The Committee having in charge the duty of reporting upon this subject has presented to this Convention what, in my judgment, will be one of the most complete and radical remedies—indeed, the only remedy that can reach the case. With that report, with the conclusion at which the Committee has arrived, I most heartily concur. I will not detain the Convention by arraying the claims of these people, under the Constitution and principles of the Government, to the right which we demand for them; nor will I, on the other hand, base my advocacy of the exercise of this right on their part purely upon the expediency that might be pressed upon them for the protection of the white man, but upon the indestructible Constitution and well-recognized right of every freeman in this land. Expediency in this case goes hand in hand with principle, and if we are not hypocrites, we will acknowledge this right. A gentleman asked me this morning, as if it were a question hard to answer, how do you propose under the influence of the present Executive of the United States, if Congress

shall propose this right for this class of our citizens, that they shall exercise it under the protection of the law and without fear of violence? The gentleman who put that question ought to have reflected that it formed its own answer. If we had an Executive who regarded sufficiently the solemn obligations of his Constitutional oath to administer the laws of the Government for the protection of the citizen, there would not be so much necessity so far as life, liberty and property are concerned, to give to the late slaves of the country—the freedmen—this inestimable privilege, by means of which we believe they will be able to protect themselves in the future. But what shall be said if it be admitted that the President of the United States would disregard the obligations of his oath and the laws of the land, in pursuance of an act of Congress made for the express purpose of protecting these people when they shall be invested with this right of suffrage until they are irreversibly invested with the exercise of that right? Are we to pause in our duty because in our judgment the President of the United States is not likely to discharge his? What will be the remedy, you ask, if he shall fail to do his duty? I believe, gentlemen of this Convention and citizens of Philadelphia, that the President of the United States will be made to understand before we have got to the end of this trouble that there is a power above him. Not the power of mob violence, such as he sanctioned in the emporium of the South a few days past, but a constitutional power which will be vindicated by the representatives of the American people in Congress assembled. That is an incontrovertible argument. Let us as American citizens accept the challenge. If the glove is thrown at my feet, I cheerfully take it up.

Let me pass to the question of the capacity of this people to exercise this high privilege. That is a question that ought not to be discussed unless you propose to discuss it in reference to every white man who exercises it. If the noble representatives of that race who have mingled their voices with ours during the deliberations of this Convention will furnish evidence of their capacity, I would hate to be contrasted as a specimen of my race with the specimens of the other race if I was not of an equal standard with those who have been held in Slavery for 200 years, and, under laws penal in their character, made to repress education and culture on their part. But there is one thing that history will write in the great struggle between the opposing spirits of freedom and Slavery, that they did know better than their masters on which side justice and right battled. If we needed any other evidence, they have earned, sir, by their blood, upon a hundred historical battle-fields, their right to participate in the obligations and privileges of the Government. He who believes that Government can be carried on successfully with this injustice long continued, has not read the history of the past five years aright. Sir, the lightning-flash of a

revolution has struck the tomb of ignorance and prejudice, in which for so many years the true spirit of republican equality and liberty has been buried. It has burst open the doors of the tomb, and the spirit of liberty has leaped to its feet; it is now striding South with a step as steady and as rapid as the step of Time, fronting ignorance on the one hand and bigotry on the other. But in her might she will hurl them back into a darker age, and proclaim herself the champion of republican equality and liberty here, and its advocates throughout the civilized world. We do not propose that the honored dead fallen in this struggle shall be condemned to have fought in vain, but in the language of the immortal President now no more, we declare "that they shall not have died in vain." This nation under God shall have a new birth. This Government was created for the people, and by the whole people shall not perish from the earth. We who are here assembled, without patronage or power, unmoved and uninfluenced by parties past or present, without the hope of reward, clothed in the panoply of truth and in the fear of God,—whose chastening hand has been laid heavily on us for the sins of the past,—unfurl our banner to the breeze, on the folds of which, inscribed in eternal light, are "life, liberty, equality and fraternity."

JUDGE SAFFOLD'S ADDRESS.

Judge Saffold, of Alabama, said that no one should surpass him in the maintenance of equal rights. No one could claim to rise higher above the prejudices which held so many North and South victims to injustice and 4,000,000 of people in the chains of Slavery. But the great question presenting itself to the American people to-day was how justice should be done to these 4,000,000 of slaves. The battle of freedom had been waged for the last eighty years by those who were bound together by a common principle. The members of this Convention were but allies from the South who had been welcomed by the noble army of freedmen. They could help them, but it should at the same time be remembered that we could harm them and their cause. The pulse of the nation would not bear another plank in the platform erected by Congress. If the men who held the pulse of the nation were right, then the men who to-day had advocated the position assumed in the report were alien enemies to the 4,000,000. To whom did these injured people look for protection and justice? It was to the representatives of the great loyal North. But in what State of the North would the popular vote confer upon this people their just and equal rights? In what political platform could there be incorporated this new plank? He begged gentlemen to pause and consider the character of that great emancipator who like Moses led the Israelites through the Red Sea. Had not God opened a path through the great sea of waters, Slavery would not have been stricken down. No man should surpass him in the advocacy of the principles inscribed upon

their banner—the principles of justice and equality and fraternity; none surpass him in the effort to secure to those people their just rights; but expediency was sometimes so nearly allied to great principles that the practical statesman stays his hand before he sacrifices the one for the other. He had listened yesterday to an eloquent address from a woman, who had convinced them that the great God of power could implant in a casket of jewels a brilliant intellect as well as in man, but he could not but think that while she might understand the great Northern heart, she did not understand the pulse of the nation as well as some with whom she evidently differed. A mistake on this great question might result in the passage of the legislative power of the Government into the hands of the enemies of the country. The Constitutional Amendment is a broad platform, comprehensive of the great principles upon which they stand. Were they as weak allies to undertake to prescribe the campaign of a great army? If so, they were stepping beyond the bounds of prudence. They would beside sacrifice the substance of a great cause for the vain effort to catch a shadow. They should reflect. From whom were they to expect the great boon they seek? Fortunately this was a country where power was exercised through the representatives of the people. The people of Philadelphia, or of Pennsylvania, could not control the great question. It is the whole people represented in Congress, and if the legislative power was transferred to the oligarchal party, the King of Macedon has obtained a seat in the Amphictyonic Council. America, enlightened America! that rests upon the intelligence of the people, has perished. If Congress granted universal suffrage, it would carry out a great beneficent principle of the Constitution. That was not the question among them. It was, how could that right be granted? Doctors differed upon that question.

A member inquired whether they were going to withhold it.

Saffold replied that in Pennsylvania, Indiana and Illinois prejudice and ignorance stand ready to deny this great privilege.

A Delegate said the opponents of this question of universal suffrage had given them a fair opportunity to discuss it. He inquired if they would not be ashamed to own that the friends of this principle dare not listen. He claimed that they should give him a respectful hearing and not disgrace themselves.

Mr. Saffold qualified his remarks by saying such was the report of some of the most honorable representatives from the North a few days ago. It was not his declaration. It was said he was hissed in the audience. They misapprehended him—any man who was guilty of that. He was from Alabama, where many thousands would manifest their loyalty if they dared, and who would favor negro suffrage; but they are held in a kind of bondage by those who delude and hold power over them. The financial expense of bureaus and other things are urged

as arguments against their existence, and the minds of the ignorant are prevailed upon. The question still came uppermost, Were the people to maintain "liberty, equality and fraternity," or relapse into degradation? It was not principle he contended against. He held they should devise means to prevent the downward tendency of oligarchy and degradation. The triumph of those principles would undoubtedly take place, but they might retard it by precipitate and unwise action.

The previous question was called, but, by the request of the President *pro tem.* (the Hon. John Minor Botts, of Virginia), the call was withdrawn, to permit him to express a few observations to the Convention.

ADDRESS OF JOHN M. BOTTS.

The Chair asks the indulgence of the Convention for a few moments. Being obliged to leave on the two o'clock train, he desired to have an opportunity of explaining his own position. I am so hoarse, having spoken the other night at the Union League Club, to a million of men, more or less, that I am afraid I shall hardly succeed in making myself heard. I would gladly have avoided this position. When I came to this Convention I had no anticipation of the course of procedure that would take place. When the permanent President asked me to take the chair, I did so without that knowledge. I beg now to say, that while I know I shall be covered with denunciations from the press of my own State for standing here and listening to the remarks that have been indulged in here, I take pleasure and pride in saying that I am neither ashamed nor afraid to hear the arguments and solicitations of the white man or the black man, the man or the woman, the educated or the uneducated. I would listen to the arguments, and the reasons and supplications of the humblest negro in the land as quickly as I would to the most excellent of the whites [applause]; and if I had the power to redress the grievances of the negro, I would accord it to him as soon as to the white man. But, gentlemen, I think I may say that I have been for the last thirty-five or forty years somewhat in the character of a representative Union man in my State [Applause]; and while I approve of all the first portion of the able report that has been presented, yet I must disclaim—on my own part, and on the part of the 30,000 loyal men of the State of Virginia, whose principles I think I represent—my responsibility for the action proposed to be taken by the latter part of the platform. I am in favor of free thought and free speech; and I am the last man in the world to deny it to others, for I have always claimed the right to exercise it myself. I have no objection to every gentleman on this floor, and everywhere else, expressing his opinions; I have no desire to trammel any opinion; and I have less desire to trammel any State in establishing the suffrage it wants for itself. If Texas, or any other State, wants universal suffrage, in the name of God let them have it. If

Missouri or Louisiana, or any other State, wants universal suffrage, let them establish it for themselves; but if Virginia does not want it, it must not be forced on her. And when you ask me to declare to the Congress of the United States that it has the power to establish suffrage in any State in this Union, and ask Congress to exercise the power, I am obliged to say, that my study of the Constitution for forty years utterly disproves any such power. Can there be a doubt in your minds as to the opinion of Congress upon this subject? Do you doubt that, with their present organization, having a majority of two-thirds in both bodies, they would have introduced such a measure if they had the power? They have proposed such a Constitutional amendment, by which it is proposed to leave to each State to decide this question for themselves. There is no such power in Congress, and you are not in convention for the purpose of making a Constitution or offering amendments to it; and your recommendations will go for nothing. I do not object to your action. I only mean to disclaim any responsibility upon myself, for the action of this Convention. I say conscientiously that out of thirty thousand loyal men in the State of Virginia, you could not get three hundred of them to go to the polls and vote for it. [A voice—"They are not loyal men."] I take occasion to say that that gentleman who appreciates the loyalty of any man by a single issue, has a very different opinion from other gentlemen on this subject. I came up here, gentlemen, for a very different purpose; I came up here as a suppliant to Congress, to extend privileges to the white Union men of the South. I came here to be relieved from the serfdom to which I have to submit in the Southern country, and I think it would be quite time enough when we have obtained our own privileges to undertake to confer them upon others. [A voice—"If you leave it to the States, you will never get relief."] I have no hesitation in expressing my belief—and I do not care what any gentleman from Texas or Louisiana, or elsewhere, may say! On this subject in relation to the colored people being allowed to vote, in the present temper of the public mind, you have only to look at the events that transpired at Memphis and New Orleans to know that they will not be allowed to vote unless they are protected; and the only way to secure them the privilege of voting is to confer rights upon loyal men to govern these States, and confer upon them such power as will enable them to give the necessary protection. Universal suffrage will, sooner or later, and in good time, be conferred upon the negroes of the South; but, in my judgment, the time has not yet arrived, nor is this the time. I believe if this Convention could give to the negroes of the South the right of suffrage, before they would be permitted to exercise it, they would be shot down in the streets, and their houses burned over their heads. [A voice—"That's done now."] As I said, I need only refer to the scenes of Memphis and New Orleans to prove

10. In regard to the remarks of the gentleman who has just taken his seat, that the action of this day will interfere with the success of our friends in the Northern States, I beg leave to assert that it will have no such effect. I regard this as a mere expression of individual opinion on the part of certain gentlemen. The Convention assembled here has clearly defined its position, and most of the leading representative gentlemen from my State ratify and adopt it. [A delegate here called for the previous question.] Mr. B. continued: May I be indulged in saying, that I came to this Convention at the request of a large number of friends, and I prepared resolutions expressive of my own opinions, and what I believed to be their opinions, which I did not present to this Convention, for the reason that there was such an accumulation of resolutions presented to that Committee that I knew they could not be acted upon, intending that if there was nothing better, I should offer my own. I therefore hope that these resolutions will be adopted as part of the proceedings of the Convention.

Judge Sherwood, of Texas: I believe the matter under consideration is the report of the Committee on Unreconstructed States.

Mr. Botts (Virginia) moved that the resolution be printed.

After some few remarks, the Convention consented to hear Mr. Bott's resolutions read.

RESOLUTIONS OF MR. BOTTS, OF VIRGINIA.

First, Resolved. That the Union of the States was intended by its framers, as it was at the time declared to be, a *perpetual Union*, and there is no right in any State, or number of States, to withdraw or withhold the performance of its or their obligations to the rest of the States.

Second. That any attempt to break up the Union, by an ordinance of secession or otherwise, by force, constitutes the offense of treason, and that all parties voluntarily engaged therein, are necessarily guilty of the felonious and most odious crime known to the laws of the nations of the earth.

Third. That every citizen of the United States owes a primary obligation of allegiance to the Government and whole people of the United States, and that any such citizen voluntarily taking the oath of allegiance to any other government (either *de jure* or *de facto*), or otherwise, voluntarily making himself a citizen thereof, necessarily alienates himself from the Government of the United States, forfeits all claim to its protection, and all claims to a further participation in the government of the country he has sought to destroy; and his right to citizenship can only be restored by the law-making power of the United States.

Fourth. That all naturalized citizens who had obtained a claim to the protection of the United States by a *sworn* allegiance to the Constitution, and afterward, under any pretext, voluntarily took up arms against the United States, or in

any manner voluntarily afforded aid and comfort, or sympathy and assistance to the late rebellion, added *perjury* to *treason*, and should be forever prohibited by law from exercising any of the functions or enjoying any of the privileges of citizenship.

Fifth. That whilst we do not ask the revocation of any pardon that has been granted by the President, nevertheless we regard the power to pardon so great a crime as that of treason to the Republic, before trial and conviction, as at least of doubtful authority, and one that may, in the future, be attended with the most dangerous consequences to the stability of the Government and the freedom of the people; and that the free exercise of that power, as recently witnessed with such disastrous consequences to the peace and tranquillity of the country, should not be allowed to ripen into a precedent, to be followed hereafter; and we, therefore, earnestly recommend that steps should be taken to bring the question before the judicial tribunals of the country, and, if necessary, that the Constitution should be so amended as to prohibit it in the future.

Sixth. That whilst the absurd pretension of "*State Sovereignty*" has been forever destroyed by the results of the late rebellion, nevertheless the "*rights of the States*," so essential to the preservation of the structure of the Government, remain untouched and unimpaired, and are held sacred by every friend of his country.

Seventh. That the safety of the Republic, the welfare of the people, the peace of the country, require and demand that all legislative, executive, and judicial offices of the country, whether in State or Federal Governments, should be confided to those only who have proved faithful and true to the requirements of the Constitution, and to the integrity and perpetuation of the Government formed by our Fathers; and that those who have proven false to their oaths, false to the trust reposed in them, and false to the obligations of patriotism and honor, are unfit and unworthy custodians of the public honor, public peace, public safety, and public welfare; and as a condition of their restoration to citizenship, they should be declared incapable of holding any political office whatever, at least for a term of years, if not forever.

Eighth. That *sugar-coat* it as you may, there is at last but one issue that has been or can be made in the approaching contest, and that is—whether the worst enemies of the country, who labored to destroy it, and the Copperheads who sympathized in the war that was made against the institutions of human freedom, and rendered all the aid they dared to extend, shall be restored to power, or whether those devoted to loyalty, who sacrificed their blood and treasure, and hazarded *all* for its preservation, shall be intrusted with its future safety and control.

Ninth. That as between the two, no matter what differences may exist between us on minor matters, we place the safety and integrity of the Nation far above and beyond all other questions,

and both individually and collectively we freely and unanimously declare, that in such a contest no room is left for hesitation or doubt in our minds; that he who helps to lift the traitor into power is himself a traitor in *deed*, if not in heart, and therefore all our efforts will be directed to the success of the loyal and patriotic, and to the overwhelming discomfiture and defeat of the enemies of the country, and all their associates, comforters, aiders, and abettors.

Tenth. That the experience of all Southern Union men here assembled justify them in declaring that the Freedmen's Bureau in the hands of discreet and intelligent subordinates, in the present temper and spirit of our people, is an institution indispensable to the security and welfare of the lately emancipated colored race, and has proved itself of incalculable benefit to the suffering poor of the white race, and is acceptable to those who desire to see equal and impartial justice to all classes and to all races.

Eleventh. That the emancipated people of the South are entitled to the same protection, in life, liberty, and property, as is extended to others, and that the best, if not the only means of securing this protection will be for Congress to take such steps as will place the State governments in the hands of the loyal men of the respective States, who have no disposition to oppress them, and who will make such laws as will afford equal protection to all in common.

Twelfth. That whilst many radical propositions may have been submitted to the late Congress, we know of no radical *measure* that was adopted by that body; and that no clap-trap words, with which the Democracy have always kept a full stock on hand, to apply to their opponents, such as "*Federalists*" at one time, "*Hartford Conventionists*" at another, "*Abolitionists*" at another, then "*Submissionists*," and now "*Radical*," can have any terror for loyal men who have any claims to manhood; and that the more radical Congress may have shown itself to be in the cause of loyalty, the more acceptable were they to all loyal men, and in this only did it give indication of radicalism.

Thirteenth. That if the States lately in rebellion are not now represented in Congress, it is because the representatives of those States voluntarily and treacherously abandoned their seats, became citizens of another government, for the time being, at war with this; and because, when the opportunity was afforded them of again occupying their original seats, the subdued Rebel spirit of the South broke out afresh, and they chose to add insult to treachery, by selecting such persons as representatives, from almost every locality, who had made themselves prominent and obnoxious by their active participation in the rebellion, with the full knowledge that they could not comply with the law, and would necessarily be excluded from the halls of legislation. A more glaring exhibition of contempt for the law, and defiance of the authorities could not well have been presented; and if there was any

reason for, or power to exclude them from the legislative bodies of the nation, whilst they were in open arms against the Government, the same reason and the same power still exists to exclude them, so long as the spirit of insubordination and hostility to the Government is made painfully manifest by their every act, both public and private, and in their hourly conduct in the ordinary walks of life; inasmuch as to admit them to participate in the legislation of the country, would be adding *power* to the *will* to destroy the Government.

Fourteenth. That nothing could better display the unsubdued spirit, the unrelenting hostility of unrepentent rebels, than that those who were but yesterday in arms against the country should to-day crave pardon for their crimes, and to-morrow impudently assume to dictate terms on which alone they will return to their duties and obligations as citizens of the United States,—those terms their restoration to power and the control of the Government.

Fifteenth. That the amendment to the Constitution now pending, meets with our approval, and will receive our support; the first section of which declares a simple truism (since universal freedom prevails) that all persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States. The second we regard as indispensable to justice and equality among the several States; and the third, is objectionable only because it does not go far enough, and only excludes those who have added perjury to treason from holding office, thereby apparently making the offense of perjury greater than the crime of treason; and the fourth, declaring in regard to the national and rebel debts what has already received the unanimous vote of the late (so-called) Philadelphia Convention!

Sixteenth. That the solemn farce, the stage-trick played off at the late Copper-rebel meeting held in this city (called a Convention), of linking arm in arm the *lion* and the *unicorn*, amidst the shouts of the multitude, was disreputable to the gravity of a great State occasion: when the true representative men of the South assembled, such as Vallandigham, Wood, Dean, & Co., were altogether excluded from the hall, and the Southern delegates were required to take back seats, and for the first time in a Democratic body, to hold their tongues, sit like automatons at a dumb show, to thank God that the "divine institution had been destroyed;" "that the Union was more sacred than before the rebellion;" that "there was no right to any State, or combination of States, to secede;" "that none but loyal men must be elected, or admitted into Congress;" that the Constitution and laws of the United States are the supreme law of the land;" "that the Union of the States is perpetual, and its government of supreme authority;" "that there is no purpose or desire on the part of the South to re-establish Slavery;" "that the Rebel debt must be repudiated," and "that the national

debt must be held sacred," and "the honor and faith of the Republic should be maintained and unimpeached;" "that the Federal soldiers and sailors must be taken care of, and rewarded for whipping the South and preserving the Union;" all of which is heartily endorsed and adopted by this Convention as a part of their platform; but when attempted to be palmed off as expressive of the principles and feelings of Rebels and Copperheads, is nothing more and nothing less than a transparent cheat, by which no sensible person can be misled, and an indignity and insult to the manly intelligence of the whole country, when it is patent to all men's minds that there is not a Rebel in the South, or Copperhead in the North willing to abide by any such declaration of principles in *good faith*.

Seventeenth. That we ask nothing more, and will be content with nothing less, than Mr. President Johnson has himself over and again laid down as a rule for his own action and the action of the Government, to wit, that "treason should be made odious," and that loyal men only should rule the country, and that, as in the late Philadelphia meeting, traitors should be made to take the back seats they designed for us, and that the worst of them shall stand out in the cold and take no seat at all.

Eighteenth. That every class of people in this country, under our free and liberal institutions, have an indubitable and inalienable right guaranteed by the Constitution peaceably to assemble and to consult together for their common benefit and general welfare, without let, hindrance or obstruction from any quarter; which was happily illustrated on a recent occasion, when large numbers of those known to be in deadly hostility to the Government were not only permitted to meet their Northern allies and sympathizers in this loyal city of Philadelphia (but were hospitably entertained by its citizens) to concert a scheme for accomplishing by the *ballot-box* what the *cartridge-box* had signally failed to effect.

Nineteenth. That the brutal butchery and horrible assassination of peaceable and unoffending citizens in New Orleans, under the lead of the Mayor of that city, and the hired subordinates under his control, *must meet with the demands of justice*, which cannot be satisfied or appeased by simple reprehension and denunciation, and which cannot reach those who are insensible to both—and calls in thunder tones, upon the Federal authorities, to which all citizens have a right to look for protection, for a summary trial, and a faithful execution of the laws.

Twentieth. That the direct and immediate encouragement given to this wholesale slaughter of loyal men, only because they were *loyal*, by the President and his chief advisers, together with the unauthorized and unconstitutional exercise of power in superseding the lawfully-elected and recognized Governor of the State, and transferring the power of the State Executive to the hands of one of his "*satraps and dependants*," imperatively calls for the most rigid inquiry on the

part of the representatives of the people, and, if found necessary, demands the ultimate resort provided by the Constitution.

Mr. Sherwood, of Texas, who was called to the chair, announced that the question now before the house was on agreeing to the report of the Committee on Non-reconstructed States.

A Delegate moved the previous question, and there were loud cries of "Question," "Question," from all parts of the house.

Mr. Sherwood.—The question before the house is on agreeing to the report of the Committee. But the honorable gentleman from Virginia (Mr. Botts) desired to go away, and he desires that his sentiments, as embodied in these resolutions, be put before the house and printed. Shall we suspend the rules? [Loud cries of "No," "No."]

General Warmouth.—Mr. Chairman, in answer to the gentleman (Mr. Botts), I would state that I, for one, object to the principle which is embodied in those resolutions, that the Congress of the United States, as the governing power in this country, cannot interfere for our protection and salvation. [Great applause.]

Mr. Botts said that members need not grant his request if they did not want to. He should speak at many meetings in the course of the campaign. He would present them there and print them himself. What was there in the resolutions that any man in this Convention could object to?

A Delegate.—There is one thing in the resolution of the honorable gentleman from Virginia to which I object. It is that resolution which states that Congress has no right to interfere with the rights of any States. That's what I object to. [Applause.]

Many Delegates.—I call the question. Question. Question. I move the previous question. What's the question? etc.

The President, Hon. E. M. Pease, of Texas.—The question before the house is as to the agreement of the house to the report of the Committee from the Non-reconstructed States, and the previous question has been called and seconded.

Many Delegates.—Let us have a vote.

The question then being on the adoption of the report of the Committee from the Non-reconstructed States, Judge Saffold, of Alabama, moved that the roll be called and the vote taken by yeas and nays. Agreed to.

The Secretary called the roll of the States, and Col. Weston Flint (of Mo.) announced the vote, as follows:

YEAS.

TEXAS.

| | |
|----------------------|----------------------|
| Gov. A. J. Hamilton. | Col. J. Stancel. |
| Hon. E. M. Pease. | Gen. E. J. Davis. |
| Judge G. W. Paschal. | J. McLane. |
| L. Sherwood. | Judge C. Caldwell. |
| Gail Borden. | Capt. A. J. Bennett. |
| C. B. Sabin. | J. R. S. Van Vleet. |
| Judge J. H. Bell. | |

LOUISIANA

| | |
|----------------------|--------------------------|
| Thomas J. Durant. | Hon. William R. Fish. |
| W. R. Crane. | Rev. J. P. Newman, D. D. |
| William C. Head. | John Touro. |
| A. Jervis. | Hon. E. Heistand. |
| Hon. H. C. Warmouth. | P. B. Randolph. |
| R. F. Danno. | T. W. Conroy. |
| Bernard Soulie. | Jno. McNair. |
| Ant. Fernandez. | S. G. Brower |

VIRGINIA.

| | |
|----------------------|---------------------|
| J. P. Baldwin. | Geo. Tucker. |
| Edward Roberts. | L. Hill. |
| E. E. Mason. | N. E. Janney. |
| W. L. Brown. | J. W. Hunnicutt. |
| S. M. Garwood. | Dr. Thomas M. Bond. |
| John B. Troth. | Samuel L. Steer. |
| Jacob M. Troth. | John Hawxhurst. |
| Joseph Williams. | G. P. S. Hunnicutt. |
| Capt. W. H. Snowden. | P. F. Schlireker. |
| Peter Conse. | Lewis McKinzie. |
| J. N. Clements. | A. M. Crane. |
| Thos. M. Brown. | T. B. Munson. |
| E. W. Robinson. | John W. Gregg. |
| Geo. Rye. | J. B. Brown. |
| Alexander M. Davis. | C. L. Watrous. |
| B. Wardwell. | H. A. Pierce. |
| T. Dudley, Jr. | |

GEORGIA.

| | |
|-------------------|-------------------|
| G. W. Ashburn. | N. P. Harben. |
| Henry G. Cole. | C. G. Baylor. |
| James L. Dunning. | N. S. Morse. |
| Wm. Markham. | C. C. Richardson. |
| J. C. Bryant. | |

ALABAMA.

| | |
|----------------------|---------------|
| Capt. D. H. Bingham. | F. S. Cramer. |
| Albert Griffin. | |

MISSISSIPPI.

Dr. R. O. Sidney.

ARKANSAS.

| | |
|-----------------|-------------|
| P. A. Fennerty. | J. W. Babe. |
|-----------------|-------------|

NORTH CAROLINA.

A. W. Tourgee.

FLORIDA.

| | |
|------------------|-------------------|
| Col. O. B. Hart. | Cornelius Curtis. |
| | Yeas—80. |

NOES.

VIRGINIA.

| | |
|----------------|---------------|
| John M. Botts. | G. K. Gilmer. |
|----------------|---------------|

ALABAMA.

| | |
|---------------------|---------------|
| Hon. M. J. Saffold. | F. S. Cramer. |
| J. P. Hinds. | |

NORTH CAROLINA.

| | |
|-----------------|----------------|
| Rev. Hope Bain. | H. K. Furniss. |
|-----------------|----------------|

FLORIDA

John W. Price.

Noes—8.

The following named delegates from the Border States, by special request, were permitted to record their votes:

YEAS.

TENNESSEE.

| | |
|--------------------|--------------------|
| Hon. J. S. Fowler. | Hon. S. C. Mercer. |
| Hon. S. W. Arnell. | James Gregory. |
| John Ruhm. | T. W. McKinly. |

MISSOURI.

| | |
|-----------------------|-----------------|
| Col. Weston Flint. | Henry Huhn. |
| Col. Charles E. Moss. | Henry S. Lasar. |

MARYLAND.

| | |
|----------------|--------------------|
| Mr. — Suetlen. | Hon. Hugh S. Bond. |
|----------------|--------------------|

DISTRICT COLUMBIA.

| | |
|-------------------|---------------|
| Dr. Wm. Boyd. | D. M. Kelsey. |
| Jefferson Fowler. | |

Yeas—15.

The following, from a portion of the Tennessee Delegation, was read:

We, the undersigned, delegates from the beautiful valley region of Middle Tennessee, whose soil is dotted over with the graves of the martyrs of Freedom—graves that look into our very windows—a region crowded with defenseless black men, hundreds of whom have borne honorable part in defense of American nationality and liberty,—coming as delegates from this region, more than a thousand miles away, and in view of their constituency, we cannot either be silent or subscribe to a half-way expression of opinion. The dumb eloquence of those honored graves and the defenseless condition of white and black loyalists there plead in trumpet tones in favor of negro suffrage. We, therefore, desire to concur in the report of the Non-reconstructed States in this respect, and to add our testimony to theirs in an appeal to the Christian heart of the country in favor of what, in our opinion, alone will bring true peace to the South, and assist to establish the government of man.

Signed by

S. C. MERCER, of Tennessee.
SAMUEL W. ARNELL, of Tennessee.
JAMES H. GREGORY, of Tennessee.
JOHN RUHM, of Tennessee.

Endorsed by

COL. CHARLES E. MOSS,
COL. WESTON FLINT and
HENRY HUHN, of Missouri.

C. G. Baylor—The Committee of the Delegation, in making the report of the different Non-reconstructed States, wished that in the platform might be placed impartial suffrage for the credit of our principles. That was the sentiment of the members from the non-reconstructed States, and they wished to have the privilege of saying it.

THANKS TO THE CITIZENS OF PHILADELPHIA.

Judge Lewis, of Tennessee, in a few prefatory remarks, offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That the heartfelt thanks of this Convention are hereby tendered to their brethren, the loyal citizens of Philadelphia, for the kind and fraternal welcome, the generous and magnifi-

cent hospitality which they have so nobly extended to us. That we shall always retain a most grateful recollection of the days we have spent with them, and in our memories Philadelphia will always remain in very truth the beautiful "City of Brotherly Love." [Applause.]

Adopted.

Mr. Morse, of Georgia, offered the following resolution :

Resolved, That the members of this Convention tender their hearty thanks to Miss Anna E. Dickinson for her able and eloquent address to them on Thursday.

And that the Committee on Printing are hereby instructed to present to Miss Dickinson a copy of the proceedings of this Convention, bound in the best style, as a token of respect and esteem of its members for her devotion to the cause of freedom.

The resolution was so amended as to include the names of Frederick Douglass and Theodore Tilton, and adopted.

RESPECT FOR THE MEMORY OF DR. DOSTIE.

The following resolution, offered by Col. Moss, of Missouri, was read and adopted :

Whereas, The lamented A. P. Dostie, of New Orleans, one of the true patriots who signed the call of this Convention, has been foully murdered since said call was issued ; we recognize the spirit of this faithful Unionist as a delegate in this Convention, whose voice shall ever be remembered, and whose wrongs shall never be forgotten until the principles he maintained shall perish from the earth. Be it further

Resolved, That this Convention wear the usual badge of mourning in memory of the brave friends of liberty who perished at New Orleans

on the 30th day of September last, and that a copy of these resolutions, as a tender of sympathy, be forwarded to the families of those who perished.

Dr. R. O. Sidney, of Mississippi, offered the following :

Resolved, That such friends as desire to assist the Convention of Southern Unionists in publishing and circulating the proceedings of their Convention, be respectfully requested to send their contributions to the Fourth National Bank, in the city of New York, subject to the draft of the Publishing Committee. Adopted.

Resolutions were also offered and adopted returning thanks to the reporters of the press of Philadelphia and other cities for their faithful and arduous labors in reporting the proceedings of the Convention, and to the messengers and doorkeepers of the Body.

On motion of Mr. J. E. Bryant, of Georgia, the following was adopted :

Resolved, That a committee of one from each of the unreconstructed States be appointed to lay before Congress, at its next session, the report of the Committee made this morning containing the expression of our ideas.

The Chair appointed as the Committee the following gentlemen : Messrs. J. E. Bryant, Georgia ; A. J. Hamilton, Texas ; N. W. Daniels, Louisiana ; George Tucker, Virginia ; J. W. Babe, Arkansas ; A. Griffin, Alabama ; Dr. R. O. Sidney, Mississippi ; Capt. O. B. Hart, Florida.

On motion, it was then ordered that the Convention would now adjourn *sine die*, with prayer.

Rev. Dr. Patterson, of Philadelphia, then came forward and offered a fervent prayer, after which, the question being put on the motion for final adjournment, the Chair decided it carried, and adjourned the Convention without day.

PRESIDENT LINCOLN'S SECOND INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

March 4, 1865.

FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN: At this second appearing to take the oath of the Presidential office, there is less occasion for an extended address than there was at first. Then a statement, somewhat in detail, of a course to be pursued seemed very fitting and proper. Now, at the expiration of four years, during which public declarations have been constantly called forth on every point and phase of the great contest which still absorbs the attention and engrosses the energies of the nation, little that is new could be presented.

The progress of our arms, upon which all else chiefly depends, is as well known to the public as to myself, and it is, I trust, reasonably satisfactory and encouraging to all. With high hope for the future, no prediction with regard to it is ventured.

On the occasion corresponding to this, four years ago, all thoughts were anxiously directed to an impending civil war. All dreaded it; all sought to avoid it. While the inaugural address was being delivered from this place, devoted altogether to saving the Union without war, insurgent agents were in this city seeking to destroy it without war—seeking to dissolve the Union and divide the effects by negotiation. Both parties deprecated war, but one of them would accept war rather than let the nation survive; and the other would accept war rather than let it perish, and the war came.

One-eighth of the whole population were colored slaves, not distributed generally over the Union, but localized in the Southern part of it. These slaves constituted a peculiar and powerful interest. All knew that this interest was somehow the cause of the war. To strengthen, perpetuate, and extend this interest, was the object for which the insurgents would rend the Union even by war, while the Government claimed no right to do more than to restrict the territorial enlargement of it.

Neither party expected for the war the magnitude or the duration which it has already attained. Neither anticipated that the cause of the conflict might cease with,

or even before the conflict itself should cease. Each looked for an easier triumph, and a result less fundamental and astounding.

Both read the same Bible, and pray to the same God; and each invokes his aid against the other. It may seem strange that any men should dare to ask a just God's assistance in wringing their bread from the sweat of other men's faces; but let us judge not, that we be not judged. The prayers of both could not be answered. That of neither has been answered fully. The Almighty has his own purposes. "Woe unto the world because of offences; for it must needs be that offences come; but woe to that man by whom the offence cometh." If we shall suppose that American slavery is one of these offences, which, in the providence of God, must needs come, but which, having continued through his appointed time, he now wills to remove, and that he gives to both North and South this terrible war as the woe due to those by whom the offence came, shall we discern therein any departure from those divine attributes which the believers in a living God always ascribe to him? Fondly do we hope, fervently do we pray, that this mighty scourge of war may soon pass away. Yet, if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled by the bondman's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash, shall be paid with another drawn by the sword; as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said, "The judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether."

With malice toward none, with charity to all, with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in; to bind up the nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow and his orphan; to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and a lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT ABOLISHING SLAVERY.

On Dec. 18, 1865, Secretary Seward officially announced to the country the ratification of the Amendment, as follows:

To all to whom these presents may come, Greeting:

Know ye, That, whereas the Congress of the United States, on the 1st of February last, passed a resolution, which is in the words following, namely:

"A resolution submitting to the Legislatures of the several States a proposition to amend the Constitution of the United States,"

"Resolved, By the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, two-thirds of both Houses concurring, that the following article be proposed to the Legislatures of the several States as an Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of said Legislatures, shall be valid to all intents and purposes as a part of said Constitution, namely:

"Article XIII.

"Section 1. Neither Slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

"Section 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

And whereas, It appears from official documents on file in this Department, that the Amendment to the Consti-

tution of the United States proposed as aforesaid, has been ratified by the Legislatures of the States of Illinois, Rhode Island, Michigan, Maryland, New York, West Virginia, Maine, Kansas, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Virginia, Ohio, Missouri, Nevada, Indiana, Louisiana, Minnesota, Wisconsin, Vermont, Tennessee, Arkansas, Connecticut, New Hampshire, South Carolina, Alabama, North Carolina, and Georgia, in all 27 States.

And whereas, The whole number of States in the United States is 36.

And whereas, The before specially named States, whose Legislatures have ratified the said proposed Amendment, constitute three-fourths of the whole number of States in the United States;

Now, therefore, be it known that I, William H. Seward, Secretary of State of the United States, by virtue of and in pursuance of the second section of the act of Congress, approved the 20th of April, 1818, entitled "An Act to provide for the publication of the laws of the United States, and for other purposes," do hereby certify that the Amendment aforesaid has become valid to all intents and purposes as a part of the Constitution of the United States.

In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand, and caused the seal of the Department of State to be affixed.

Done at Washington, this 18th day of December, in the year of our Lord 1865, and of the Independence of the United States of America the 90th.

WM. H. SEWARD, *Secretary of State.*

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